Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Alia German Press Interview Criticized

AU2009102691 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 31 Aug 91 p 6

[Article by Bashkim Trenova: "A Presidential Interview in the Laborite Style"]

[Text] The German newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG recently published an interview with the Albanian president, Mr. Ramiz Alia. Although it was aimed at the foreign public, in this case a German readership, we think it is interesting to state our opinion, too, because President Alia has confided to a foreign audience various thoughts that he expresses for the first time, and that are therefore unfamiliar to our people. It seems that the president has his preferences! However, there could be other reasons.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG asks President Alia whether "there are still political forces in Albania that could exploit developments in Moscow in order to obstruct Albania's progress on the road to democracy." His answer is: "I do not think that there are still forces with the strength to divert democratic developments in Albania." He sees the sole danger from abroad, from Yugoslavia. Thus, the president thinks that the Enverites, all the conservative forces of the Albanian Workers Party, the stifling bureaucracy, the gigantic apparatus of oppression and genocide, and the whole stratum of lickspittles and privilege-holders in the service of the dictatorship who have lost their paradise now, as if by magic, no longer constitute a danger or any potential force that could even dream of a revanche against democracy or could, under suitable conditions, make any real effort to restore Albania's tragic past. This danger is always present at every historical turning point, especially in its initial stages. The president overlooks it not out of political ignorance but for political reasons: He cannot condemn the Army, whose commander has been and remains in the shade.

Mr. Alia is asked: "If the situation in Kosovo explodes, will Albania intervene militarily?" He replies clearly and simply: "Albania will not intervene militarily in Kosovo but will protect its borders." As an experienced politician, Ramiz Alia knows how to answer such questions obliquely, to leave certain things implied, or even to avoid any reply at all, something at which he is a past master. His succinct reply doubtless does not help either Kosovo or Albania. He gives a free hand to the Milosevicite hordes to do what they please to our Kosovar brothers, to massacre them, and to shed rivers of blood in Kosovo, while Albania watches on the sidelines, perhaps issuing a statement or a protest, or publishing an article in ZERI I POPULLIT. Anyway, that is his attitude. It is regrettable that he should say this in his capacity as Albanian president. Betrayed, sold, and resold Kosovo is left to the mercy of Serbian chauvinism! Nevertheless, regardless of the statements of the president, who was not elected by his voters but by the Albanian Workers Party, the Albanian people will know what to do if Kosovo becomes a slaughterhouse. A nation and a people cannot be identified with a single personality, whoever he may be.

In his interview, Mr. Alia does not even shrink from gentlemanly insults. He shows this when he explains the reasons for the mass exodus that is sapping Albania of the blood of Albanian youth. According to the president, "In the present transitional period of reform from a planned economy to a market economy, people do not want to work." Thus, he describes us as a lazy and anarchist people. After this original explanation, will foreign firms agree to pour their capital into Albania? Of course not! This is a real favor on the part of the president to the homeland's future. People do want to work, but there is no work because the ruling feudal-communists reduced Albania to this state. People do want to work but not like slaves who do not enjoy the fruits of their labor. Our president "forgets" to mention these objective reasons. He asserts that the Albanians "see no prospects and, therefore, think that an exodus is the only way out." However, he again fails to explain who obstructed all the Albanians' prospects in their own country and who is nipping the flower of hope in the bud. He "forgets" to admit what our people feel, which is that, as long as communists converted overnight into socialists dominate the country, their prospects will always be grim. No doubt such admissions would mean a kind of hara-kiri for the president, and, as he has shown, he is not ready for such a sacrifice, not even for the people, whom he despises like all members of the Laborite hierarchy.

The Albanian president also maintains a similar attitude toward the democratic opposition. In his interview, he levels one accusation after another against these parties. Rising in defense of the dark deeds of the state security service, Mr. Alia accuses these parties of "absurdities" and claims that they have tried to create a psychosis according to which the exodus "was organized by the secret service," a service that, according to him, does nothing but "protect the state and the Constitution!" For Mr. Alia, the very creation of these parties was an absurdity. He has clearly said so. Thus, according to his yardstick, none of their standpoints can be anything but absurd. This is consistent with his Laborite monist logic. As the saying goes, "Ali Hoxha—Hoxhe Alia" [a colloquial expression: "Tweedledum and Tweedledee"]. They use this expression today to suggest the continuity of the Hoxha-Alia road. In fact, in this specific instance, if Enver Hoxha made a cult of the Sigurimi, which served him as a strong praetorian guard, Ramiz Alia has striven to protect it by all manner of means, regardless of its exploits both past and present. Mr. Alia is so categorical here that he loses his sense of balance and courtesy, using the most extreme terminology for public consumption. However, this too is understandable. The events of Shkoder on 2 April, and earlier in Tirana, when he ordered the Sigurimi to fire on the people of the capital on the day when Enver Hoxha's monument was toppled, are sufficient indications of his real relationship with the Sigurimi, that monstrous engine of dictatorship. It seems that, like Enver Hoxha, Ramiz Alia sees in the Sigurimi the sole sure guarantee for the continuation of monist power.

The president also speaks of the press of the democratic opposition, as well as of democracy itself, with contempt and scorn. "The opposition press," SUEDEUTSCHER ZEITUNG says to him, "has demanded your resignation. What

can you say about this?" Mr. Alia replies. "It can write whatever it likes. This is democracy now." Thus, he equates democracy with "whatever you like"—in other words, with anarchy, absurdity, fiction, and intrigue. Only an absolute monarch could think and speak in such a way. Our president apparently thinks of himself as such a monarch. The exposure of a financial scandal like that in which Mr. Alia is now involved would suffice to remove from the political stage once and for all any of his counterparts in a genuinely democratic country, regardless of whether other people demanded this or not. Mr. Alia not only does not possess the dignity to resign in such a way but also issues challenges. Let him do so.

French Daily Interviews President Alia

PM2009150691 Paris LE FIGARO in French 19 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with President Ramiz Alia by Philippe Gelie; place and date not given]

[Text] [Gelie] How do you view the Yugoslav crisis, which is taking place on your doorstep?

[Alia] We are profoundly disturbed. The hostilities between Serbs and Croats are bringing the country to the verge of civil war. This poses a very serious potential threat to Albania. We do not want events to plummet out of control; on the contrary, we want a democratic and peaceful solution to be found to the Yugoslav problem.

[Gelie] Are you afraid of the conflict's spreading to Kosovo?

[Alia] We are indeed very worried about the fate of the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. The Serbs deny them any freedom, any autonomy. The Kosovo government has been dissolved, as has been the assembly; Albanian language television has been banned, and so has the press. Some 6,000 teachers have been dismissed, and 50,000 workers have no jobs.

They absolutely must be heard. The world must know that there are 3 million Albanians in Yugoslavia and that they are being oppressed. If there are clashes between them and the Serbs it will be really very dangerous. It could prompt an exodus to Albania. But, even more seriously, we are not immune from Serbian provocations against our country, either.

[Gelie] Do you mean that if another Balkan war were to break out Albania could not remain uninvolved?

[Alia] One thing is certain: Albania will never consider going beyond its borders.

[Gelie] Some members of the opposition believe, on the contrary, that the population of Kosovo should be supported....

[Alia] I am the representative of the Albanian state, and I express Albania's official position: We will not intervene in Yugoslavia.

[Gelie] How do you respond to the recent demonstrations in Tirana demanding your resignation?

[Alia] The democratization process begun in our country rests on individual freedom, pluralism, and freedom of expression. We have 10 political parties: They all have the right to express themselves on the subject of the president. The demonstrations reflect the progress of democracy in Albania.

[Gelie] Do you think you are the best person to bring this process to completion?

[Alia] I intend to continue along this road, but it is up to the Albanian people to choose who is to lead them.

[Gelie] So are you in favor of an early election, as the opposition demands?

[Alia] This decision is not up to me but depends on a consensus among the parties. Having said that, I personally believe that it is not a priority. The essential thing is the country's stability and economic recovery.

[Gelie] Some people accuse you of wanting to preserve the communist legacy and of clinging to power....

[Alia] I completely reject those charges. We are unshakably determined to move toward democracy and a market economy. And this evolution must be accompanied by changes in all fields.

[Gelie] Is it possible to speak in terms of thorough changes when the Sigurimi—the secret police—is still active and the same officials are still in charge of the state apparatus?

[Alia] The Sigurimi has been dismantled. It has now been replaced by the National Intelligence Service. There is no doubt that some Sigurimi aides are in this new body. But what has changed is its very essence: Its task is no longer to spy on citizens. We have not reached the end of the road, but there have already been major changes.

[Gelie] How do you explain the disastrous state of the Albanian economy?

[Alia] It is not solely an Albanian phenomenon. It can be encountered in all the other countries of the East. It is undoubtedly connected to the past, to the legacy of the communist system—the single party and the centralized economy in which everything belonged to the state. It also has to do with the disruptions accompanying the transition to democracy.

[Gelie] Do you mean that the present situation is the result of 45 years of errors?

[Alia] If we had committed errors for 45 years it would be a disaster!

[Gelie] Although Albania is potentially wealthy, it is at present at a Third World level....

[Alia] The record is not entirely negative: In 1945, life expectancy here was 40 years; it has increased to 72. At the end of the war, 80 percent of our population were illiterate; now 70 percent of Albanians complete high school. But, I admit, it is true that there have been errors.

[Gelie] What was the former regime's most serious fault?

[ALia] As far as I am concerned, it was the country's isolation, which we called "relying on our own resources." The lack of economic relations with other countries brought political isolation, too. That was the most serious mistake.

[Gelie] Why was it committed?

[Alia] That is a long story. Most East European countries were more or less closed in on themselves. But, in our case, Enver Hoxha was certainly chiefly to blame.

[Gelie] Are you protecting his widow, Nexhmije Hoxha, who some opposition leaders would like to see in prison?

[Alia] That is not my responsibility. I do not intend to interfere in judicial matters, no matter who is involved.

[Gelie] Do you still believe in communist ideology?

[Alia] Socialist ideals do exist, and I do not believe that they are merely utopian. They are an aspiration for the longer term. You have socialist forces in France, too. The quest for social equality, for instance, deserves to be pursued.

[Gelie] How do you respond to the present upheavals in the Soviet Union?

[Alia] From the outset, I condemned the regressive coup in Moscow, which threatened to jeopardize democratic developments not only in the USSR but in other countries, too.

[Gelie] Do you have Albania, in particular, in mind?

[Alia] Anything could happen. I did not especially fear a coup d'etat in Albania, but the conservative forces could recover almost anywhere.

[Gelie] What impact does the acceleration of democratization in the USSR have on you now? Could it have repercussions on your country?

[Alia] That is a matter that primarily concerns the Soviets. It does not concern us directly.

[Gelie] Do the Albanians not have reason to believe that things could proceed more quickly?

[Alia] No, I do not think so because we ourselves want to accelerate the process.

[Gelie] What do you expect from your entry into the CSCE?

[Alia] For us, it means that our country is becoming part of Europe and pledging to make progress on the road to democracy. The human principles embodied in the Paris Charter will form the foundations of the new Albania.

[Gelie] Have you become a real democrat?

[Alia] I myself have fought for democracy. I have proved it.

[Gelie] If a presidential election by direct suffrage were to be held, would you be a candidate?

[Alia] I have never thought about that.... But no, I do not think so.

Legislative Delegation Visits European Parliament

AU2309193691 Tirana ATA in English 0819 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami, and the vice chairman Dr. Aleksander Meksi had a meeting with the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Mr. Anders Bjork at the seat of this council in Strasbourg on September 20.

At the beginning, Dr. Kastriot Islami presented an overview on the development of the democratic process in Albania and acquainted Mr. Bjork with the proceedings of the first Albanian pluralistic Assembly. Speaking to Mr. President about the important steps taken by the political parties, the People's Assembly and the Government of the National Stability, the members of the delegation assured him of the will and determination of the Albanian people to follow the road of the irreversible democratic process in full conformity with the demands of the CSCE. On this basis, they demanded from Mr. Bjork to make his contribution to Albanian acceptance in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, with the status of the special invitee.

Evaluating the democratic development in Albania, Mr. Bjork assured that the Bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly will accept Albania in its fold with the status of the special invitee according to the recommendation of the assembly.

Besides, he assured the interlocutor of the readiness of the Council of Europe to help the People's Assembly in its activities and in working out the new draft constitution and the democratic laws of the juridical state.

On September 21, 1991, the meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe was conducted in Strasbourg. It examined the resolution "On the Situation in Albania." At first, Dr. Kastriot Islami and Dr. Aleksander Meksi were invited in the Juridical Commission and in the Non-Member Countries' Commission to acquaint them directly with the democratic processes in Albania. The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly thanked the presidents, Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Rideman, at first for giving them the possibility to take part in the meeting of these two commissions. In his expose, after stressing that now Albania fulfills all the official demands to be a member of the Parliamentary Assembly with the status of "the special invitee," Dr. Kastriot Islami asked that this decision be immediately adopted, so that our country feels no more the isolation and make use of the possibility to profit from the (?work) of the Parliamentary Assembly of

the European Council. Many of the speakers evaluated the democratic processes in Albania and supported the demand put up by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami.

This proposal was powerfully backed up also by the reporter of the Political Commission, Mrs. Letz Cournette [name as received]. The reporter of the Non-Member Countries' Commission, Mr. Fulf [name as received], evaluating the positive situation in our country, proposed that Albania be admitted as member with the status of the special invitee in November, after the visit of a group of European Parliamentarians in Albania this October.

On the basis of these two proposals were held also the discussions in the plenary sitting of the Council of Europe. The parliamentarians from Switzerland, Italy, France, Greece, Spain and Turkey underlined that Albania can be accepted immediately as a member with the status of "the special invitee." In the adopted resolution, observing the procedural rules, Mr. Fulf recommended the Council of Europe that right after the return of the commission of the Council of Europe from Albania, in the first meeting of November, Albania shall be given the status of "the special invitee."

On September 22, the Albanian parliamentary delegation returned home.

European Parliament Delegation Makes Visit

Parliament Delegation Arrives

AU2309193791 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—A delegation of European Parliament, headed by Mr. Glyn Ford, arrived in our country on September 22.

Present at the airport to welcome it were Dr. Kastriot Islami, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, as well as Dr. Aleksander Meksi and Lush Perpali, deputy chairmen of the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

Pashko Briefs Delegation

AU2309193891 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy, Dr. Gramoz Pashko, received the delegation of the European Parliament headed by Mr. Glyn Ford at the premier's office on September 23.

After bidding welcome to Albania, Dr. Gramoz Pashko briefed the delegation members on the program of the pluralist government for the country's stabilisation, its commitment to realise the economic reforms, the switch of our economy onto the market economy, etc. He dwelt on the measures adopted by the government on the social assistance, the realisation of foreign investments in Albania and laid the stress in particular on the aids the European Community has accorded Albania to deepen the democratic processes and the implementation of economic reforms, such as the emergency aid for food, raw materials, technical assistance etc.

In course of the meeting, opinions were exchanged on the political, economic and social situation in Albania in the conditions of the establishment of democracy and multiparty system, the existing difficulties and endeavours carried out to overcome them, etc.

Muci Receives Delegation

AU2309193991 Tirana ATA in English 1804 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 23 (ATA)—The minister of justice, Dr. Shefqet Muci, received the delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Mr. Glyn Ford on September 23, before noon.

Dr. Shefqet Muci briefed the delegation members on the work carried out by the National Stability Government on the drafting of a contemporary legislation in order to precede and assist the country's democratic transformations, as well as on the structure and functions of the Ministry of Justice. In particular, he dwelt on the drafting of the new constitution of the Republic of Albania of European standard.

During the meeting, the minister of justice responded to the questions of the delegation members on the constitutional provisions of the Republic of Albania, on the Law on the Political Parties, on the independence of the court in solving questions regarding juridical assistance in advocacy, particularly of the defence since the beginning of the case by the Investigation Office, on the situation in the penitentiaries and reeducation camps, particularly on the measures adopted to reform the system of suffering the penal sentences according the European standards, etc.

The delegation of the European Parliament paid a visit to the Polytechnic University of Tirana on September 23, where it was received by its rector, Dr. Gezim Karapici. He spoke on the work carried out by the chairs and branches to start the new academic year at the best possible conditions, to enhance the quality of the didactic work by the professors and to master a knowledge of contemporary level by the students. In course of the meeting both parties aired the readiness to consolidate the relations of cooperation of this university with other similar universities in the countries of Europe and the world.

Kosovo Republic Declares Independence

AU2309143591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] As Radio Croatia [in Albanian] reports, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo held a meeting in Pristina yesterday chaired by its deputy chairman, Iljaz Ramajli. The number of delegates attending was sufficient to make valid decisions. The agenda consisted of 10 points on which the

Kosovo Interparty Council has adopted policies, including many issues involving the dismissal and the new appointment of the chairman, the deputy chairmen, and the general secretary of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, as well as other decisions.

First, the report of the Electoral and Appointments Commission was presented, proposing that the Assembly's two deputy chairmen be replaced by three. The delegates agreed that the current situation requires the appointment of a third deputy chairman. After the current deputy chairmen, Hakija Hadrovic and Iljaz Ramajli, were relieved of their duties, Dr. Skender Skenderi and Ramadan Kelmendi were appointed new deputy chairmen of the Republic of Kosovo. A third deputy chairman responsible for the economy will be elected at a forthcoming meeting. The Assembly relieved Djordje Bozovic of the post of chairman and elected Iljaz Ramajli chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. Hamit Muharremi was also appointed general secretary to the Assembly. Meanwhile, the delegates elected (?Xhemal Bajri) to the post of chairman of the Chamber of Communes.

One of the items on the agenda was the question of amendments to the constitutional law on the implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo. These involved certain dispositions authorizing the Assembly to appoint a provisional multiparty government in order to activate all the relevant organs and institutions of the Republic of Kosovo. The Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, in its present composition and with the agreement of the political parties, may elect a provisional coalition government for the Republic of Kosovo. The delegates also approved this item on the agenda, asking the Interparty Council to compile as soon as possible a list of candidates for the coalition government.

Yesterday's meeting also considered and unanimously approved a resolution defining the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent republican state, with the right to take part as a constitutive element in an association of sovereign republics and states in Yugoslavia on the basis of freedom and full equality.

The republics of Yugoslavia, the parliaments and governments of European states, the parliaments and governments of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and the national and international public have been informed of this decision. The Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, on the basis of its constitutional authority, made the decision to hold an all-people's referendum on the territory of Kosovo, which, on the basis of the free and direct expression of the will of citizens, the people of Kosovo will declare the Republic of Kosovo to be a sovereign and independent state, with the right to be a constitutive element in an association of sovereign republics and states in Yugoslavia. The referendum will be held between 26 and 30 September of this year.

Decree on Nonprofessional Private Trade

AU2409064391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Sep 91 p 2

[Council of Ministers' decree "On Trade in Specific Locations and License Fees"; date not given]

[Text] On the proposal of the Finance Ministry, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. Albanian nationals may sell different goods without a permit from the appropriate authority, when they do not do so professionally.

2. This trade is permitted in specific locations to be determined by the town planning offices of the executive committees of the people's councils of districts or regions in every town or inhabited settlement.

Persons engaged in this trade pay a license fee of 25 leks, which is paid to the market inspector of the executive committee of the people's council of the district or region.

3. Violations of the regulations in Paragraph 2 of this decree are administrative misdemeanors punishable by fines of 100-500 leks and confiscation of the goods.

Employees of the directorate and branches of the Fraud Squad have the right to impose fines.

Appeals against fines may be lodged within five days with the directorate of the Fraud Squad or the chairman of the District Fraud Squad, whose decision is final.

4. Revenue from license fees is paid into the account of the executive committee of the district people's council.

Revenue from fines and the confiscation of goods is paid into the state budget.

5. Executive committees of people's councils of districts or regions will take measures to organize and administer this market, to enforce sanitary and health regulations, to check weights and measures, and to enforce other regulations for the trade of goods.

6. Peasants markets operate and are organized by special regulations.

7. Executive committees of district people's councils in districts and regions are entrusted with the enforcement of this decree.

This decree comes into effect on 30 September 1991.

[signed] Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Zhelev Interviewed on U.S. Working Visit

AU2309194891 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Late this afternoon, President Zhelyu Zhelev returned from his unofficial, working visit to the United States.

In his statement to journalists upon his arrival at Sofia Airport, he declared that his main goals for this visit were achieved.

The president stressed the necessity that contacts with countries such as the United States and Germany should be regular, rather than accidental. This is very important for Bulgaria's role in developing common views on topical world processes, he said.

Dr. Zhelev pointed out that, during his talks in the United States, he could feel a very positive attitude toward Bulgaria on the part of his interlocuters, resulting from the fact that our country is still playing its role as a stabilizing factor in the Balkans, especially considering the development of events in our western neighbor country.

In a short interview for Bulgarian radio, the president described how he insisted in talks with his U.S. supporters that the group of 24 should work out reliable guarantees and forms of integration for Eastern Europe, considering that the specific problems affecting the former communist countries concern not only those nations but are related to the general political atmosphere. They are problems concerning peace throughout Europe and the world.

The goal of more widely promoting the influx of foreign investments in Bulgaria has been been achieved, President Zhelev stated.

In addition to the [figure indistinct] million dollars for the privatization of agriculture, a new fund amounting to $50 million for investments in the agricultural sector has now been created.

U.S. business circles plan to assist our agriculture to achieve a more accelerated transition to a market economy, which does not exclude investments in other economic spheres.

In assessing the results of his visit as a whole, President Zhelev expressed (?his satisfaction).

Election Alliance Attacks Supreme Court Decision

AU2109163691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] We have received a declaration issued by the member parties of the election campaign alliance of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] concerning the Supreme Court's verdict to confirm the Central Electoral Commission's decision to register the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] for participation in the coming election.

The declaration expresses serious misgivings regarding the stance adopted by the Supreme Court. This makes it possible for an organization that has shown by its actions until now that it conflicts with the norms of the new Bulgarian Constitution to take part in the election, the document reads. We vigorously call for the full and unconditional guaranteeing of the constitutional rights of all Bulgarian citizens. Our country's peaceful and democratic development can be ensured only when the organs of authority, political forces, and citizens strictly observe the laws of the country in their actions.

We are opposed to the disregard of constitutional principles and the basic interests of the Bulgarian people, which may have serious repercussions on the development of the political process and the peaceful transition to democracy, the declaration states.

'Nationalistic' Parties Protest Against DPS

AU2109204991 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Sofia, September 21 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Despatches from the country report about the reaction to the ruling of the Supreme Court which yesterday confirmed the decision of the Central Electoral Commission to allow the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] to run in the elections. The organizations of nationalistic leanings—the Fatherland Party of Labour, the Committee for the Protection of National Interests and the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, circulated a declaration in the Danubian town of Ruse describing the ruling as "a betrayal of Bulgaria's interests." Kurdzhali (southeast Bulgaria) met the dawn strewn with leaflets which read "the Supreme Court violated the Constitution." Later in the afternoon the Bulgarian Socialist Party and its election allies circulated a declaration expressing concern over the decision of the Supreme Court to allow a party that violates the Constitution and the law with its actions to take part in the elections. [passage omitted]

Social Democrat Leader Dertliev Addresses Voters

AU2209073291 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Election address of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, read by Chairman Dr. Petur Dertliev on Bulgarian Radio on 15 September: "Let Us Save Bulgaria!"]

[Text] The warm summer season has ended, and the hot election summer is beginning.

Now everyone is promising all kinds of miracles. As Radoy Ralin says: "It is easiest to lull people to sleep with promises of a fine future."

It is high time for our young democracy to stop believing in miracles and to put its faith in common sense. It should evaluate the promises by obtaining an answer to the question: What could you do, and what have you actually done?

We make no promises; we do what we say. We entered the legislature to adopt a constitution, and we have done that. We promised a land act and have done that. We also produced a Law on Cooperatives and many other laws.

We want peace on our borders and peace within the country. Democracy means law and order. We must stop crime and give the Bulgarian citizens greater security and tranquillity. We must put an end to the looting of our national wealth.

The most serious problem at present is the economy. The monetarist method, rejected by the West but applied by Lukanov and Kostov, merely devoured people's savings and deprived hundreds of thousands of citizens of the hope of ever owning their own homes. The SDS-Center [Union of Democratic Forces-Center] rejects this method of economic reform.

The IMF credits have been represented almost as a charitable gift. The country mainly needs investments, not credits.

By appropriating state property, the upper crust of the Communists is becoming the new capitalist class in order to be able to exert economic domination now that the Communists have lost political power. Speculators of all colors are joining that camp.

Illegal privatization is being carried out—that is, public property is being transferred to private hands without a privatization act.

We will not allow the jackals to finish the wolves' work.

We will return to the Bulgarian people everything that was stolen, including the property of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Steadfastly, but in a sensible way and at the lowest possible cost, we must complete the transition to a modern society. We must create new jobs, increase production, and overcome unemployment and inflation. We will encourage business when it is well organized, creative, and not destructively speculative.

We will save Bulgaria through the labor and talent of all the Bulgarian people, regardless of political convictions, nationality, or religion.

Our motto is: Free citizens, a tranquil home, and security for all from childhood to old age.

Culture is in danger. Without well-organized help from society and the state, the consequences may prove irreparable. We will prevent this.

We will restore the beauty of our native land, the cleanliness of our rivers, and the clearness of our native skies.

Given that we have started to move toward Europe, the shortest route is via social democracy, for surely the Social Democrats are in the majority in the European Parliament.

Therefore, let us proceed boldly, steadfastly, and with firm faith to renew a joyful and free Bulgaria.

Danov, Parties Issue Election Civic Peace Appeal

AU2309161491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has issued an announcement that points out that Khristo Danov, minister of internal affairs, held a meeting with leaders and representatives of the basic political forces that will take part in the coming election. Martin Gunev, chief prosecutor of the Republic, took part in the meeting.

An appeal to the citizens of Bulgaria was prepared and signed during the meeting. The following is the text of the appeal:

Led by the sense of duty and responsibility for the destiny of our motherland, we, representatives of various political parties and state organs engaged in protecting public order, express serious concern about civic peace and public order in the country during the coming election.

Civic peace is a necessary condition of further strengthening and developing the democratic process, more rapidly overcoming the grave crisis in the country, and protecting the Bulgarian citizens' freedom and rights.

We appeal to all compatriots who cherish Bulgaria and want to work for its progress, so that our people can live in a civilized, humane, and rule-of-law state, to make efforts aimed at not allowing appeals and deeds that threaten the country's civic peace and public order, regardless of what form such appeals have or who issues them.

Let us determinedly oppose all those who aim to provoke disorder and instigate violence, thus attempting to gain political benefits from the situation.

The political parties guarantee that they will support the efforts of the organs of the Ministry of Internal affairs and defend them while those organs implement their duties related to protecting the country's civic peace and legality, the appeal reads.

The appeal was signed by representatives of the political parties that supported it. The appeal remains open to other political forces that did not take part in the meeting.

Opposition to Soviet Claims on CEMA Property

AU2309185391 Sofia BTA in English 1809 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—At its session today the Bulgarian Government approved a draft protocol on the discontinuation of the agreement between the USSR and CMEA and a draft note to the Government of the USSR regarding CMEA's property.

It is pointed out in the report presented by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov that the former CMEA-countries still cannot reach an agreement as to which one should acquire the property of this organization, although as of September 26 CMEA will no longer be a legal entity. The Soviet Government has openly declared its intention to buy CMEA's property at current prices. Soviet experts evaluated the CMEA building at about 45 thousand roubles. The Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia hold the view that having being acquired through common efforts and means CMEA's property should be used jointly to the interest of economic cooperation. Anyway, if the building is to be evaluated, it should be done on the basis of the internationally prevailing prices, in which case its cost will be about 400 million dollars.

Gallup Poll Reveals Attitudes About Macedonia

AU2309201691 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—According to Gallup International, 49 per cent of Bulgarians believe that Macedonia's sovereignty should be recognized. It was reported in this evening's central round-up of the national television that 31 per cent of the respondents have no opinion on the matter.

Until the end of the week the Bulgarian Television will be presenting the results of a Gallup-conducted representative poll on up-to-date problems of Bulgarian political life.

The first samples concern the attitude towards Macedonia: 31 per cent of the respondents said "yes" to the question whether Bulgaria and Macedonia should unite, 38 per cent replied in the negative.

Are the Macedonians Bulgarians? 65 per cent of the respondents said "yes," 10 per cent said "no" and 25 per cent did not express an opinion on the matter.

To the question if Bulgaria's present borders are acceptable 48 per cent of the respondents answered in the affirmative, 18 per cent said "no," adding that nothing can be done, 10 per cent also replied in the negative, saying nothing can be done at present.

Forty-eight percent of the respondents consider that Turkey poses a serious threat, 35 per cent believe such threat is non-existent, the rest could not reply the question.

Miners' Strike Ends; Higher Wages Won

AU2409100491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] A short time after 0900 today, a miners' rally was held in Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia at which Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, announced to the miners present that their 10-day strike could now be declared successfully concluded.

Dr. Trenchev further stated that basic wages amounting to 1,500 leva for miners and auxiliary personnel, and wages amounting to 2,500 leva for highly qualified workers were agreed upon. Wages for remaining personnel will amount to 1,200 leva.

Representatives of the striking miners also addressed the rally, despite the heavy rain.

Commission Discusses Podkrepa Demands

AU2309163491 Sofia BTA in English 1519 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—The National Tripartite Commission, comprising representatives of the government, the trade unions and the employers, is considering the demands for higher minimum wages and the restructuring of the mining industry raised by the miners during their last month's strike organized by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of Podkrepa, recently said that if the miners' problems are not solved quickly, there would be another strike.

The Podkrepa Federation of Transport Workers is also on strike alert. The Ministry of Transport is postponing wage bargaining. The federation insists that it be given the list of managers appointed by the ministry to head the business companies which will succeed the former transport enterprises.

Trade unionists accused Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, mayor of Sofia, of delaying the settlement of the problems in transport despite the repeated requests of the two trade union organizations.

"The government is violating the agreement on the preservation of social peace. The political forces use the forthcoming elections as an excuse to cast aside urgent problems. But human rights come first. The autumn march of workers is starting," Dr. Trenchev said.

The International Federation of Free Trade Unions will finance the establishment of a centre for training trade union activists.

Popov Speaks at Opening of Plovdiv Fair

AU2309172491 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Plovdiv, September 23 (BTA)—At the opening of the Plovdiv Fair today Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said that it was the primary task of his cabinet to make the course of reforms irreversible. He believes that the task has been fulfilled.

According to Mr. Popov, a number of optimistic prospects are opened for Bulgaria: The country can make and carry out development plans itself, without outside interference.

The Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, noted the considerable drop in the

country's foreign trade. He also mentioned the appearance of encouraging tendencies related to the new trade orientation and the balance of trade this year. The governmental programme for the encouragement of export gives grounds for hope. The purpose is to increase the share of finished products in the country's total exports.

The Autumn Fair is attended by over 1,000 Bulgarian and 600 foreign exhibitors from 30 countries. Germany, Austria, and Italy are traditionally well presented. The unfavourable tendencies in the economic relations with the ex-socialist countries have had their impact on their participation in the fair which is merely a token one.

Bulgarian experts believe that the newly passed Trade Act, the Foreign Investments Act and the Protection of Competition act will have a favourable effect on the business activity at the fair.

Government Discusses Wheat Shortage

AU2309185591 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—Bulgaria is one million tonnes of wheat short to ensure an adequate bread supply to the population, it was noted at a government meeting today. This year the wheat crop is 4,300,000 tonnes which is one million tonnes less compared with 1990. Adequate food supplies require 2 million tonnes of wheat, while the remaining part is used for sowing, fodder or is sold to private farms.

A little more than one million tons of wheat had been purchased by September 5. The cooperative farms have already stopped the wheat sales.

Today the government decided to subsidize grain purchase prices by 172 million leva which, thanks to the Ministry of Finance, will not be allotted through the budget. Within 10 days the money should be distributed among the areas where wheat prices are higher than the ceiling prices set by the government. There is also a possibility of importing grain. The final decision will be made in about ten days' time after studying import prices and transport expenses.

Mr. Boris Spirov, minister of agriculture and the food industry, said at the meeting that he would do his best to defend the interests of Bulgarian producers.

Production, Import-Export Trends Viewed

AU2309104991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Sep p 1

[Report by Boyka Bashlieva: "Bulgarian Import-Export Trends Persist"]

[Text] The production of commodities marketed in our domestic markets from January to August 1991 is 50-percent lower than during the same period in 1990. The stagnation of the Bulgarian economy and the loss of market positions after the disintegration of CEMA continue to be among the main causes of this situation, experts from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations think.

They point out the slower decrease of exports to the developed industrial countries in exchange for convertible foreign currency as a positive tendency during the period in question. The smaller decrease, 15.6 percent, was in exports to the EEC countries, whereas the largest, 71 percent, was in exports to countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

Trade with the Balkan countries, except Yugoslavia, has increased significantly.

National Bank To Finance Part of Budget Deficit

AU2009120391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by Katya Karagyaurova]

[Text] Today Prof. Todor Vulchev, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank, is due to grant a credit to finance part of the budget deficit. This will enable the budget to pay its old debts in leva in respect of company receipts from exports to the USSR.

Svetoslav Gavriyski, head of the Foreign Finances Administration at the Ministry of Finance, explained that at present the budget owes the companies about 1 billion leva. Some 500 million leva are expected from the Bulgarian National Bank, but Finance Minister Kostov considers that this amount will be sufficient.

The "secret" is that the payment of part of this debt will in turn enable the companies to pay their own debts to the budget in the form of profits tax. Thus, the budget will receive new funds, which will be redirected to the companies. By the end of the week, we hope to conclude our settlements with all the companies, Mr. Gavriyski said. The companies will feel some relief because they were deprived of circulating capital needed for the purchase of raw and other materials.

At the meeting between the leadership of the Ministry of Finance and the Board of Directors of the Bulgarian National Bank held on 16 September, the issue of financing the budget deficit in principle was discussed. In all probability, there will be several further issues of securities before the end of the year that will be used to cover part of this deficit—that is, about 4 billion leva. The remaining amount will be taken over by the Bulgarian National Bank, which is bound under the law to provide credits for the budget.

As Mr. Gavriyski explained, this is a matter of normal credit relations between the central bank and the budget, and there is no question of a special credit. According to Lyubomir Velkov, head of the State Treasury at the Ministry of Finance, it is possible that budget receipts will increase, so the deficit ceiling may not be reached.

Baksay Assesses Foreign Trade Developments

AU2309083891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 18 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay by Jozef Uvacik and Jan Loerincz; held "on the occasion of the 33d International Engineering Trade Fair in Brno," date not given: "Come Do Business in Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] [VEREJNOST] The reasons for the reduction of the foreign trade turnover by 30 percent in the last few months are sufficiently known. What are the prospects for foreign trade, also in view of activities such as the International Engineering Trade Fair? Will it gather momentum again?

[Baksay] The percentage of decline that you cited is far from accurate. We have recorded a 25-percent decline thus far [presumably in 1991], and even that figure is not final. We have completely changed the keeping of statistical records this year, and the numerical data are not quite accurate as a result of this change. For example, at present we monitor volumes passing through customs houses but do not monitor, for example, values pertaining to "brain" exports. [passage omitted] Hence, the final statistics will show a decline that is even smaller than 25 percent. [passage omitted]

The present situation is far better than we expected at the beginning of this year. We were expecting a catastrophic foreign trade balance, but there has been a turnaround and in the month of July, for example, the balance of payments was in the black to the tune of 3.4 billion korunas. At the beginning of the year, the balance of payments was in the red—to the tune of 10 billion korunas. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] How satisfied are you with the influx of foreign investments to Czechoslovak industry, especially in Slovakia?

[Baksay] Personally, I am not very satisfied with the extent of foreign capital investment. There is great interest in Czechoslovakia, but as one can feel in the talks we are conducting, and as some partners even directly point out to us, there is a certain concern about the fate of the republic ensuing from our internal problems. The greatest present project is Volkswagen's investment in the Skoda plant, but this year there have not been any investment projects of a [comparably] huge scale. Total foreign capital investments are in the range of hundreds of millions of dollars.

As far as the share of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic is concerned, I must say that the events in Slovakia really quite seriously jeopardize the influx of foreign capital to Slovakia. A larger part of foreign capital is channeled to Czech enterprises and only a small part to Slovak enterprises.

[VEREJNOST] What makes foreign investors act in this way?

[Baksay] There are, essentially, two factors. The first is the political climate in Slovakia and its uncertain future. The other factor is the bad structure of the Slovak economy. Yet this is not the fault of the ordinary Slovak citizen. Bilak, Husak, and other former Slovak leaders are to blame for that. But if Slovakia wanted to restructure its economy by itself, it would probably lead to the complete extinction of the Slovak economy, because Slovakia cannot afford it, it has no money.

The disparity between the flow of capital into the two republics is formidable, even though the first thing that I mention in any talks is—come and do business in Slovakia. Virtually everywhere, I get the same reply—we are afraid. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] The economic and financial situation has substantially changed in the two years since the revolution. The enterprises have freer hands, they are not constrained by financial limits.... What do you see as the main prerequisite of successful enterprise in foreign trade?

[Baksay] Statistical data show that there are 900,000 private entrepreneurs in Czechoslovakia. Of course, some of them are entrepreneurs in quotation marks, who only want to get rich as quickly as possible. They take advantage of the very liberal import regulations. Initially, enterprise has been hampered by the banking system, by the inflexibility of banks, but the situation is improving. This is illustrated by the progressive decline of credit interest rates. Their present level, 14 percent, should no longer prevent entrepreneurs from drawing credits. We did not expect the foreign exchange economy to develop as it has actually evolved. When we launched the economic reform at the beginning of this year, we were worried that our entrepreneurs might exploit the koruna's internal convertibility, which allows them to obtain an unlimited amount of foreign exchange, to import huge quantities of foreign merchandise with the aim of growing rich quickly. But the situation has been developing quite differently. We expected Czechoslovakia's foreign debt to have increased to between $11 and $11.5 billion by now, yet it stands at $8.8 billion. This year our foreign debt increased by a mere $0.7 billion, which is a sum that all our neighbors would accept with delight. Inflation is another important factor. At the beginning of the year it was relatively high and growing, but today it stands at 2 percent. The January liberalization of prices brought prices to great heights but, as we expected, prices started to fall slowly in the summer. It can be seen that market mechanisms are working in our country, that the market economy is striking its roots. Another matter is that the whole process could proceed faster, were it not for needless politicking and mutual recriminations. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] The process of preparing and signing the association agreement with the EC has slowed down recently. Will this have an impact on the development of our companies' foreign trade?

[Baksay] This slowing down is, in my opinion, more or less artificial and is a result of France's negative stand on the EC agricultural policy. President Mitterrand has already stated that France will on no account slow down the association process. For us, the association agreement will mean, starting from January, asymmetrical advantages vis-a-vis the EC. In the first five years of our association, we will receive preferential treatment in the EC to enable us to put our economy in order during that period. I am positive that, if we succeed in advancing at the same pace in the economic reform as we have until now, a fundamental turnabout will occur in the economy within those five years. My personal guess is that this will happen even earlier. The productivity of the Czechoslovak economy will start growing within three years. As far as the association is concerned, even now we are obtaining significant benefits. Only a few days ago, we managed to obtain a substantial increase in quotas for textile exports to EC countries; in some cases the quotas have been raised by as much as 800 percent. This should fully cover the requirements of the textile industry. Thanks to our patient and industrious work in the EC, we have offset the loss of the Soviet market and created scope for our entrepreneurs in the EC. Next year, we will be able to export up to 2,000 tonnes of cheese to the United States, and we have also been given assurances for the export of hunting and sports weapons. We are engaged in negotiations with both the EC and the United States about steel exports, and we believe that they will back away from their original positions and raise our quotas. As for agricultural products, the situation is somewhat different from the picture that is being painted in public. We will export agricultural products to Albania through Italy. The EC will probably accept our offer, and its aid to the Soviet Union will be channeled through us, too. The ministries of agriculture of the republics have prepared for us lists of products and volumes that they are in a position to sell. The result was that 50,000 tonnes of beef and 300,000 tonnes of wheat, for example, were made available to us [for export]. All these data do not suggest that a catastrophe and breakup of Czechoslovak agriculture are nigh. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] Through the Soviet Union's breakup, several smaller partners and potential markets have come into being. Our entrepreneurs are justifiably wary about penetrating these markets in the Baltics, Russia, the Ukraine, and Asia, especially because of their insolvency. What is the Ministry of Foreign Trade doing to minimize those risks for our entrepreneurs and what advice would you give our entrepreneurs?

[Baksay] We anticipated this development in the USSR in our trade policy and took the appropriate systemic measures. We have concluded trade agreements not only with the central Soviet government but, one by one, also with the governments of several republics (Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic republics). Directly in the agreements on payments, we provide for some sort of clearing method ensuring balance between Czechoslovak and Soviet products. [passage omitted] One of the measures is payment in national currencies, which is now an officially agreed method of payment between the Veshekonombank and the Czechoslovak State Bank. [passage omitted] Entrepreneurs can expect help from the state in the sense that it will create adequate credit limits for them so that the suppliers do get paid for their merchandise, after all. At present, we have contracts with the USSR for about $5.5 billion worth of trade and the final figure will be around $6 billion. The Poles and Hungarians are far behind us in this respect.

[VEREJNOST] Thank you for the interview.

Economy Minister: Oil Supplies Sufficient

LD2009105191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 2000 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Interview with Minister of the Economy Vladimir Dlouhy by unidentified correspondent; questions in Slovak, replies in Czech; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Minister, Yugoslavia—and here I have in mind specifically the Adria oil pipeline—poses a problem. The pumping stations are said to have been occupied by Serbian troops, and the consignment that should have been sent to Czechoslovakia is at a standstill.

[Dlouhy] I can only provide information from this morning. I apologize, but my program has been very tight, and should something have happened between noon and now it could be that my information will not be quite accurate. During the morning, the situation was as follows: Yugoslav ports are occupied by the Yugoslav Army. The oil pipeline itself is said to be occupied by Serbian units. Pumping has been suspended. It should have been resumed on 16 September. This has not happened as yet. At present, the quantity of oil there amounts to roughly 100,000 tonnes. Our option is one million tonnes of crude oil by the end of the year through Yugoslav ports.

Supplies from the Soviet Union are going very well at present. We have received roughly 30,000 tonnes above the plan for September. This means that these extra supplies enabled us to overcome the current shortfall from the Adria pipeline without any problems, and what I said about the stocks of motor fuel in connection with the Soviet crisis during the third week of August also applies in this instance. My personal view is that, provided the situation in Yugoslavia is not aggravated and does not reach a situation in which even the last economic arguments would cease to apply, provided it is not aggravated to such an extent, which I believe has not happened yet, then we can expect that supplies will be resumed because all sides have an interest in economic results.

CNC Warns Against Sovereignty Declarations

LD2009133291 Prague CTK in English 0708 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 20 (CTK)—The Czech National Council [CNC] (parliament) approved shortly after midnight a resolution saying that the declaration by any of the national councils (Czech or Slovak) of full sovereignty of a national republic without holding a referendum on the sovereignty of a national republic as a subject of international law would be unconstitutional.

Under such circumstances the National Council and the government of the other republic would have to launch immediately, in cooperation with the federal bodies, all activities aimed at ensuring its own sovereign existence. Czechoslovakia's international legal continuity would be preserved on the territory left after the unconstitutional secession of one of the republics, the resolution says.

The Czech parliament proposes to the Federal Assembly (parliament) the holding of a referendum as soon as possible in which citizens of both republics would say if they wish secession from the federation.

Slovak Liberation Movement Leader on Policies

LD2309232191 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Interview with (Frantisek Kollar), chairman of the Movement for the Liberation of Slovakia (Hnutie za Oslobodenie Slovenska), by Editor Alena Michalicova in Bratislava on 23 September—recorded]

[Text] [Michalicova] Despite the fact that today there is a number of nationalistically oriented parties in Slovakia, you claim that you are alone in your struggle for the independent Slovak state. Why?

[(Kollar)] I should not say that we are alone. There are other political parties and movements; however, the problem is whether they can be trusted. They say one thing and do something different. This is also a matter of trust, and the situation in Slovakia currently is such that one does not know who to trust because there are politicians like Meciar and Prokes who mislead the people. Our movement was the first to come up with the idea of Slovak independence. We have been pursuing this idea continuously; we do not jump up and down; we do not say something different than are our actions; we are following our aim firmly, whether somebody likes it or not— I mean by this, the government officials, whether in Bratislava or Prague, in particular.

[Michalicova] Is there a party in Bratislava or in Prague with which you would be willing to cooperate?

[(Kollar)] So far, I know of no such party.

[Michalicova] Let us come back to your 21 September meeting. A part of its program was also the burning of the Czechoslovak flag. You, Mr. Chairman, described this as quite a normal and natural act, and you saw it as a symbol of resistance of the Slovaks against the existence of the Czechoslovak state.

[(Kollar)] We must fight for the freedom and independence of the Slovak nation; the question is what methods to choose. We have seen so far that the press is not enough; we are often blocked there, despite everything. It is not enough to speak; therefore, we must choose other methods, symbolic ones, such as the burning of the Czechoslovak flag, so the Slovak nation knows that something must be be done for the independence of Slovakia and that fear is no good. We can see now what is happening in Yugoslavia. People there fight with weapons for the independence of their own states, in particular Croatia and Slovenia. Therefore, why can't we burn the Czechoslovak flag. It is our right? According to what I know, it is illegal, but we pursue the right of the nation to self-determination, independence, and freedom. This right to independence means, above all, laws like the one on burning the flag and others.

[Michalicova] Therefore, do you admit that you would be willing to fight for your aims unconstitutionally?

[(Kollar)] We use legal means as long as we have the opportunity to work for Slovakia's independence legally. If we were banned to operate legally, then, naturally, we will choose different ways to achieve Slovakia's independence.

Policy Differences Between ODA, ODS Reviewed

AU2209082291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Jan Stern, a Federal Assembly deputy representing the Civic Democratic Alliance: "A United Right Wing"]

[Text] Views have often been expressed about the need for a united right wing led by a single and strong political party—in this case, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. At the same time, appeals are more or less being made to the other smaller right-wing parties—the Liberal Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA]—to join together and even merge in the future. The implication contained in this often-expressed view is that the smaller parties will disintegrate and thus weaken the right wing, while a large party has—by virtue of its size, of course—the right to exclusively represent the right wing. It is apparent from this that the smaller parties' task is to merge with the ODS as quickly as possible. Jiri Leschtina recently appealed—especially to the ODA—in this regard in a commentary entitled "A Chance From Heaven" (MLADA FRONTA DNES 4 September 1991). This is a simplified view of the issue, and it is necessary to say that, as far as the ODA is concerned, there are very important reasons that the party should continue to exist alongside the ODS. These reasons are the fundamental differences in the specific policies espoused by the ODA and the ODS.

The difference between the ODA and the ODS is expressed best by the titles of their fundamental policy documents: The Way to a Free Society (ODA) and The Way to Prosperity (ODS). The ODA's goal is a society of free citizens who, as long as society is really free, will also be prosperous. It views prosperity as something derived from freedom. The ODS would blithely place prosperity and well-being above everything else. If the ODA has a similar economic program to the ODS, it differs considerably in its political mission.

The differences between the ODS and the ODA have manifested themselves in many instances in specific political practice. For example, as far as the issue of collaborators with the former State Security [StB] is concerned, the ODS has proposed an across-the-board publication of all the agents' names. The ODA has rejected this from the beginning as a measure that will run aground on thousands of legal disputes that will cast doubts on the entire issue. Instead, it has proposed the idea of enabling everyone to undergo screening at his own request and, at the same time, has specified the range of functions in state administration that are incompatible with cooperation with the former StB.

Regarding privatization, the ODS is pushing for the—so to speak—monopolistic use of the coupon method of privatization. The ODA rejects this as an extreme solution and is proposing the well-balanced use of all privatization methods, including direct sales and auctions. This would give our entrepreneurs a chance and increase the proportion of direct ownership. This is the best guarantee for economic development.

There are also differences in foreign policy where, until recently, the ODS presented Poland and Hungary as opponents in the endeavor to enter Europe. On the contrary, the ODA sees the need to join political and economic forces with them and thus improve our bargaining position and the attractiveness of the whole region.

It is evident that there are many differences and that they are not unsubstantiated. The ODS and the ODA, as right-wing parties, are striving to project conservative and liberal principles into their policy. However, when two entities do the same thing, it is not always the same. Right-wing plurality involving more political entities—among whom healthy competition would prevail—would be more of a help in the current situation than unity that would just conceal our fundamental differences.

It is indisputable that a single strong conservative party will have to evolve in the future—and, undoubtedly, it will evolve—but this involves a long-term process based on gradual rapprochement among the political parties on the right-wing, rapprochement founded on consensus in resolving specific political tasks. Naturally, the ODA also wants to gradually participate in uniting the right wing, but it is impossible to skip the phase of harmonizing starting points and programs as well as cooperation in everyday politics. A condition will always be willingness to cooperate and respect for our partners.

Author of Screening Bill Revealed as StB Staffer

AU2109095691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Sep 91 p 1

["jl"-signed report: "Telling the Wolf To Mind the Sheep"]

[Text] Yesterday's discussion of the screening bill in the Federal Assembly's Committees for the Environment had an unexpected ending. Jiri Kodydek, LLD, from the Federal Ministry of Interior (the attendance sheet did not specify his rank and function), who presented the bill on behalf of the Federal Government, aroused the deputies' attention when he repeatedly called in question the credibility of the registers of files [of secret police agents] as regards the category of secret collaborators. Deputy Stanislav Devaty, member of the commission investigating the 17 November [1989] events, pointed out that, to this day, the commission has not ascertained a single case of a citizen who was not a secret collaborator, even though he figured in the register of files as such. The representative of the proposer of the bill (that is, Dr. Kodydek himself) replied that he must know these things better, for he worked for many years at the First Administration of the State Security Corps [StB]. When the deputies found out that a long-time StB staffer had been addressing them in the role of one of the authors of the screening bill, they adjourned the session until the government finds "a high-quality representative of the proposer of the bill."

Poll Views Czech, Slovak Attitudes on Issues

LD2309200791 Prague CTK in English 1408 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Prague Sept 23 (CTK)—"Unlike the political scene, the Slovak population does not show primary interest in nationalism or separatism, just on the contrary", Ivan Gabal, head of the presidential office's department for political analysis, said at a briefing here today.

Gabal was speaking about the results of the latest monthly public opinion poll conducted by his department.

"Slovakia's citizens have no problems living together with Czechs, do not lack interest in a common state, have no motifs for nationalist intolerance and separatism", Gabal says.

A majority of Slovak citizens favour a common federative state, Gabal said.

But the Slovaks face big economic problems and their social impacts. The politicisation of the problems result

in the feeling of intolerance and of the disadvantageousness of coexistence with the Czechs. This leads to the rejection of the federative state setup and to increasing interest in a confederation, or separation, Gabal said.

According to the results of the poll, conducted by the Czechoslovak presidential office's Department for Political Analysis, 43 per cent of citizens of the Czech Republic and 37 per cent of citizens of the Slovak Republic believe "the Czechoslovak federation will be maintained though it will be difficult and there will be disputes".

The poll showed 20 per cent of citizens of the Czech Republic and 25 per cent of citizens of Slovakia are convinced "the federation will be maintained", 21 per cent and 23 per cent respectively think "there will be disputes, the federation will hold out for some time but then will disintegrate", and six per cent in the Czech Republic and six per cent in Slovakia think that "the federation will disintegrate within a short time".

Asked whether they would vote for maintaining the federation if a referendum were held next week, 48 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 35 per cent in Slovakia answered "definitely yes", 32 per cent and 34 per cent respectively said "rather yes", 10 per cent and 15 per cent said "rather no", and four per cent and 10 per cent respectively said "definitely no". In Slovakia the same question would be positively answered by 76 per cent of the potential voters of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), 67 per cent of the potential voters of the Democratic Left Party (SDL-former communists), 60 per cent of the potential voters of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), and 30 per cent of the voters of the Slovak National Party (SNS). 67 per cent of the potential voters of the SNS would give a negative answer.

Thirty-six per cent of Czechs (as against 47 per cent in May) regard a single state as the best constitutional arrangement, 30 per cent a federation, 20 per cent (as against 25 per cent in June) a tripartite federation, six per cent a confederation and five per cent separation. In Slovakia 35 per cent of the respondents believed the best solution would be a federation, 24 per cent (against 26 per cent in June) a confederation, 19 per cent (against 11 per cent in July) a single state, 13 per cent (against 17 in April) separation and five per cent (against 11 per cent in June) a tripartite federation.

45 per cent of the Czechs and 35 per cent of the Slovaks think President Havel should "let people decide in a referendum", 35 per cent of Czechs and 34 per cent of Slovaks think he should continue talks with political representatives of the two republics and 12 per cent of the Czechs and 20 per cent of the Slovaks believe he should let development take its own free course.

Further results of the poll showed that in the Czech Republic public trust in President Vaclav Havel dropped between July 1990 to September 1991 from 96 to 83 per cent, in the Federal Government from 79 to 60 per cent and in the federal parliament from 58 to 47 per cent. In the same period public trust in the Czech Government dropped in the Czech Republic from 78 to 61 per cent and trust in the Czech parliament dropped between October 1990 to September 1991 from 64 to 57 per cent.

Between July 1990 and September 1991 the Slovak citizens' trust in the Czechoslovak president declined from 79 to 58 per cent, trust in the Federal Government from 70 to 32 per cent and in the federal parliament from 73 to 39 per cent. In the same period their trust in the Slovak Government dropped from 71 to 42 per cent and trust in the Slovak parliament declined from 60 per cent in October 1990 to 32 per cent in September 1991.

Concerning views on Czechoslovakia's economic reform, 34 per cent of the Czechs (against 20 per cent in July) believed it should be accelerated, 26 per cent (against 28 per cent in May) thought it should be "altered", 21 per cent (against 31 per cent in July) think it is taking the right course. [passage omitted]

48 per cent of the Czechs and 54 per cent of the Slovaks were "rather dissatisfied" with the general situation in Czechoslovakia, 36 per cent of the Czechs and 19 per cent of the Slovaks were "rather satisfied", and 13 per cent in the Czech Republic and 24 per cent in Slovakia were "very much dissatisfied". "Very much satisfied" with the situation were three per cent of the respondents in the Czech Republic and three per cent in Slovakia.

Smallholders' Presidium Views Coalition Issues

AU2409090291 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Smallholders' Presidium on Coalition—Conditional Loyalty"]

[Text] At its day-long meeting held on 20 September, the Presidium of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] discussed among other things issues connected with the functioning of the coalition. The Presidium summed up its views in a statement.

The Presidium concluded with regret that the FkgP has recently been forced into the background within the coalition. According to the aforementioned statement, "All this is all the more alarming because, even under pressure, our party leaders cannot agree with an economic policy that places most of the burden on the small people. Therefore, we expect our deputies to refrain from voting in favor of any bill that could lead to a further increase in the burden upon our population. We are totally baffled by the general disregard of our party's economic policy concepts, although we have constructive proposals on how to solve the problems, so that Hungary can at long last proceed on the road to progress."

The Presidium then declared the following: "Because of the unjustified disregard of our concepts, we are forced to break our disciplined silence and hereby make it public that, after 31 October 1991, we will regard as acceptable only the ministers and state secretaries upon whom we agreed during the coalition talks."

The Presidium called upon the members of the FKgP faction to vote only for bills that are in harmony with the election promises, until the new coalition agreement.

In conclusion, the statement expresses "continued friendship and loyalty" to the members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Christian Democratic People's Party, and salutes all those who, together with the FKgP, demand the complete elimination of bolshevism and the immediate implementation of the change in the regime. "A functional coalition and honest agreement are essential conditions for all this."

Party Opinions on Yugoslav 'Provocations' Reported

AU2209070391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Report by Jozsef Szabo Barta and Tibor J. Keri: "The Views of Six Party Leaders on Our Southern Neighbor—Is the Crisis Threatening Us?"]

[Text] On the morning of 18 September, at the government's suggestion, a six-party consultation will be held on the Yugoslav situation led by Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky. On 17 September, we asked the legislative parties' representatives what steps they considered important to normalize the situation.

Viktor Orban, Federation of Young Democrats: "Our country, our government, and the National Assembly is constantly provoked by the Serbian side. Therefore, in my view, the most important thing is to establish unity among the parties on the need to avoid a military conflict until the last possible moment. We need to avoid Hungary's involvement in a conflict, especially a military one, under the influence of any provocation. Therefore, I think that it is worth considering to invite international observers to Hungary to witness the provocations."

Gyula Horn, Hungarian Socialist Party: "Together with the prime minister, the party leaders should have been convened earlier just as they were during the Soviet coup. Various measures are needed. We have to formulate new international political and diplomatic initiatives. Hungary could suggest a pan-European conference, because we have to admit that the measures to solve the crisis have failed. We also need to do this to make the superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—do much more to end the crisis. In my view, it is also essential for Yugoslavia's neighbors to hold consultations."

Jozsef Torgyan, Independent Smallholders' Party: "I requested a meeting with Arpad Goncz to discuss this issue, and I was received on 17 September, leading a party delegation. We discussed three issues. The first issue is that it is time to invite international observers into the danger zone, that is, to Hungarian territory. Second, we think that it would be expedient to introduce a state of emergency in the danger zone along the border. Third, we suggested strengthening our defense forces in the affected areas and setting up an information system to help defend the people living in these areas, because they feel completely abandoned—and the border is uncontrolled there. We suggested these three issues to the president who assessed the situation similarly."

Ivan Peto, Alliance of Free Democrats: "The situation is definitely worrying. It is also worrying that many people come to the conclusion that strong centralized dictatorships were more capable of keeping order in this area. In my view, this kind of opinion is just as tragic as the armed conflict itself. It is very difficult to get a clear and precise picture of the Yugoslav events in Hungary. There is little information, and we have to acquire even this little information from the press. I trust that Hungary cannot get into a situation that would drag it into an armed conflict or a war. The danger exists, though. Therefore, I expect the government to handle the events it calls provocations with utmost cautiousness and restraint."

Ferenc Kulin, Hungarian Democratic Forum: "Our feelings and our subconscious anxiety are stronger than justified by rational assessment. This is natural because deputy colleagues from our southern border area give me

daily accounts of hearing the roar of cannons and the noise of weapons at night. This increases the fear of war in me and in others, too. At the same time, based on a calm situation analysis, I can exclude the possibility of being swept into a war or Hungary's territory becoming the scene of war. Instead, cool assessment encourages many of us to support a calm, moderate, and rational government policy with even more commitment."

Tibor Fuzessy, Christian Democratic People's Party: "I am worried that the anger of Serbs will be directed at the Hungarian minority after Croatia and Slovenia become independent. Therefore, I think that a general settlement can only be reassuring if it includes the settlement and assurance of the national minorities' rights. We can only get involved in the war if the Yugoslav Federal Army attacks us. However, this is not connected to our recognition of Croatia and Slovenia simultaneously with the EC. Therefore, our involvement in this war entirely depends on Serbia and Yugoslavia. At the same time, I do not exclude the possibility that nationalist Serbian bloodthirsty irregulars might attack Hungarian areas, but I assume that the Hungarian defense is prepared to repel them. However, I would not by any means consider such a provocation a reason for war."

Goncz on SFRY, Relations With EC, Austria

AU2309125491 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Georg Possanner and Erhard Stackl in Nagycenk "over the weekend": "Not to Surrender Hungarians to Revenge"]

[Text] [DER STANDARD] Mr. President, what is happening in Yugoslavia now also has a strong effect on Hungary. Half a million Hungarians live in Vojvodina. Do you see any possibility of solving the conflict through the United Nations, through Europe, or has Europe failed?

[Goncz] I am convinced that this problem can be solved only by the Yugoslav people themselves.

[DER STANDARD] The question of recognizing Croatia and Slovenia is a hotly discussed topic in Austria. Is this the same in Hungary? Do you also feel that you are the president of the Hungarians in the Vojvodina?

[Goncz] It has been said that every Hungarian is responsible for every other Hungarian. At the moment, our biggest responsibility is not to surrender these Hungarians to the rage and the revenge of others. Therefore, it is our task to deal with this issue with the utmost care. I would see it as a definite solution if a loose union of sovereign states were established.

[DER STANDARD] Hungarians who live in the other neighboring countries, such as in Slovakia, are also confronted with increasing nationalism. Will the former Eastern Europe now have to move through a stage of hatred and nationalism?

[Goncz] Nationalist feelings were suppressed for 40 years. The problems of the minorities of all peoples were swept under the carpet, and now they are breaking out. When we talk about Slovenia: This is a very young nation and just in the process of taking the last steps toward finding its nationality. The peoples in Eastern Europe—be it the large peoples or the minorities—have to live together. There is no other solution. It must be absolutely avoided that the individual minorities are forced to play the pawns on the chess board of the bigger nations. The goal of Hungarian foreign policy is to ensure the law, both for the minorities and for the others, and to do so on the basis of human rights.

[DER STANDARD] Does the right to self-determination also mean the right to a nation?

[Goncz] Those minorities that live outside Hungary belong to the country where they live, as regards their citizenship, just as the Hungarians in Slovakia are of Hungarian nationality but have CSFR citizenship. The same goes for the German minorities who live in Hungary. We need borders that can be passed and where the Hungarians, the Germans, the Slovaks, the gypsies, or whoever, can live their own lives. Hungary also signed the Helsinki agreement.

It is to be assumed that it, Austria, too, does not wish the German-speaking minorities around Sopron to found their own state. In the same way, Hungary, or I myself, do not want the about 5,000 Hungarians in the area of Oberwart [province of Burgenland] to suddenly found their own state. However, for these Hungarians, too, I insist on human rights. A German-language secondary school will be opened in Sopron, because there are so many people who speak German there.

[DER STANDARD] Is the system of neutrality still conceivable for Hungary.

[Goncz] Unfortunately, Hungary was not neutral like Austria. One must add that the term neutrality loses much of its importance in a unipolar Europe. This question will have to be reexamined both by the Scandinavian countries and by Austria and Switzerland.

[DER STANDARD] It is known that Hungary wants to be integrated into EC Europe. Have unexpected difficulties come up in this respect?

[Goncz] The schedule says that perhaps by the end of this year or the beginning of next year associate membership will be striven for. In 1992 negotiations for full membership are to begin. The result of this is desired to be that this might bear fruit in 1996 to 1998 and membership will be achieved by then. But you probably know that this decision does not just depend on us.

[DER STANDARD] The political union—whatever it will turn into—with its security structure, with its legislative structure, is something that Hungary can fully support?

[Goncz] From the political point of view, one is much closer to solving the tasks, also regarding human rights. If the economic situation were to be like the political situation, we would apply for membership tomorrow.

[DER STANDARD] It seems as if Western Europe, in particular the EC, prefers to find grand words and verbal support, but if the issue is making trade easier—be it with meat, or with textiles—they are closing the door.

[Goncz] I hope that in answering these important questions of the economy and economic aid that should be given by Western Europe to Eastern Europe one will not necessarily slip on the issue of edible snails.

[DER STANDARD] What is your attitude on economic aid to the USSR?

[Goncz] I wish with all my heart that part of the help that is supposed to go to the Soviet Union will be acquired in Hungary; that the Soviet Union will be called upon with gentle pressure to buy goods in Hungary.

[DER STANDARD] You have made many trips, but you have not yet paid an official visit to Austria—why?

[Goncz] I hope that the time will come for this, too. Relations between Austria and Hungary have developed so much, have deepened to such an extent, and are so numerous and detailed that the history and fate of these relations can no longer be decided at the level of heads of state. I just had the pleasure of meeting the Austrian chancellor and of having a talk with him, which lasted for one and a half hours. I do not know what the chancellor felt about it, but I am sure that I got the feeling that I have been friends with him for at least 100 years.

Officials Update Situation at Yugoslav Border

AU2309131791 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Sep 91 p 1

["Cs. A."-signed interview with Attila Krisan, deputy spokesman of the Hungarian Border Guard, and Mihaly Kiss, commander of the Police Regiment; place and date not given: "Explosives in the Drava River—Police Are Planning Reinforcements"]

[Text] As opposed to the news broadcast on 20 September, no new reinforcements have arrived at the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. This is what Colonel Attila Krisan told NEPSZAVA:

[Krisan] We strengthened the border control earlier, when the fighting was close to our border. There have been no incidents recently that would justify a further increase in the number of Hungarian Border Guards. We are carrying out increased border surveillance along the border in Baranya County. We are sending experienced border police to this sector from other areas. Border patrols are made up of three or five people there.

[NEPSZAVA] Are these people in danger?

[Krisan] We hope they are not. One can detect some tension, but they are carrying out their tasks well because they are experienced people .

[NEPSZAVA] Is it true that a lot of explosives originating from Yugoslavia have been found in the Drava River?

[Krisan] Our border police only found two explosives in the river. One of them was a portable anti-armor missile, and the other one was a piece of a missile. Our army demolition experts are neutralizing these explosives now.

We asked Mihaly Kiss about news concerning the strengthening of the police in the area:

[NEPSZAVA] Have you sent policemen to the villages and towns along the border again?

[Kiss] No final decision has been made, and we are only planning such steps. We have 50 people in the area at the moment. I personally visited the aforementioned villages, and there is calm there. In any case, the mayors of these villages and towns would welcome a bigger police force in the area. There are mixed (police and border police) patrols in some places. If needed, we would also increase the number of our armored vehicles and provide reinforced patrols in other areas too.

[NEPSZAVA] What is behind the idea of classifying the various settlements along the border into two categories?

[Kiss] From a security viewpoint, the direct border area is the most endangered one, like Dravaszabolcs and Beremend, which are two or three kilometers from the border. We would provide 24-hour police surveillance in these places. We would provide night surveillance in less endangered areas that are farther from the border.

Ministry Announces Joint SFRY Trade Figures

LD2309224391 Budapest MTI in English 1213 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI-Econews)—Hungary had run up a surplus of 100 million dollars in trade with Yugoslavia by the end of August, it was announced in the Ministry of International Economic Relations today. Since the outbreak of hostilities in Yugoslavia, Hungarian banks have been requesting Western bank guarantees for all l/cs [letters of credit] issued by Yugoslavian banks to finance imports from Hungary, a Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations official told Econews today. Since about 50 per cent of Hungarian-Yugoslavian trade consists of barter deals, the Ministry is advising Hungarian companies to get their Yugoslavian partners to deliver

first. Thanks to these prompt measures, Hungarian companies have no debts in Yugoslavia. In the first eight months of 1991, Hungarian exports to Yugoslavia amounted to 222.3 million USD, a 6-per-cent drop on last year, and imports were 120.2 million USD, 12 per cent down on 1990. Hungary mainly exports foodstuffs, farm produce, chemicals and iron and steel products to Yugoslavia, and imports consumer goods and chemicals. About 40 per cent of Hungarian exports go to Serbia, 20 per cent each to Croatia and Slovenia, and the remainder to the smaller republics.

Ministry Lists Possible Food Delivery to USSR

LD2309223491 Budapest MTI in English 1210 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI-Econews)—A Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations official presented a list of the foodstuffs Hungary could deliver to the Soviet Union under an EC aid scheme to EC officials in Brussels last week, senior ministry official Peter Balazs told Econews today. Hungary could supply about 500 million USD of meat, grain, canned food, poultry, wine, baby food, margarine, butter and sugar. Whilst the Ministry is aware that the bulk of the consignment to the USSR will be met by suppliers from EC member countries, it is hoped that Hungary will be able to have a slice of the deliveries. On Saturday, EC finance ministers decided to investigate the possibility of financing food exports to the Soviet Union from Eastern Europe. The EC ministers discussed the possibility of using 300 million USD in food credits approved for the Soviet Union in 1989 but not yet disbursed to finance Soviet food imports from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. The Soviet Union told the EC this week it needed 14.7 billion USD in Western food aid and credits to pay for food imports in the coming year, and wanted 7 billion USD to come from the Community. The EC undertook a similar operation earlier this year when it financed the export of wheat from Hungary to Albania. Such "triangular operations" could help to ease the Soviet Union's food shortage and also enable East European countries to increase sales of agricultural products. EC ministers asked the European Commission, the EC's executive arm, to report in two weeks on the merits of a "triangular operation".

IMF Officer Predicts Forint's Convertibilty

LD2309010791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Hungary has undertaken a commitment at the IMF to create full-scale convertibility for the forint by the end of 1993. [passage omitted]

Imre Tarafas, deputy president of the issuing bank, said on television's "Evening Balance" program that they will fix the forint's rate of exchange vis-a-vis the convertible currencies and that supply and demand will determine the forint's daily value, of course, only within certain limits. According to the financial expert, for the time being the technical and economic conditions are lacking for full convertibility, but from the middle of next year the preparation for full-scale convertibility can begin.

Trade Minister Discusses Ties With USSR

AU2309083691 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Sep 91 pp 14-15

[Interview with Foreign Economic Relations Minister Dariusz Ledworowski by Krzysztof Kowlaczyk and Jan Bazyl Lipszycz; place and date not given: "Trade With Russia"]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] It is being said in Poland that during last week's visit to Moscow, the Russians proposed to you and Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz that Poland join the new Soviet Union.

[Ledworowski] That was a misunderstanding. As Prime Minister Silayev was urging the republics to join a new economic union at the Congress of People's Deputies, in the heat of the moment, he said that former CEMA countries could join the union. Later, at a special news conference, he withdrew that remark.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Nevertheless, there must be more to it than that, because during his telephone conversation with President Walesa, Gorbachev mentioned the idea of an economic zone.

[Ledworowski] There is some idea that the Russians are considering. They are talking about an "economic zone." However, what that would mean in practice is something that they themselves still do not know.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Following your visit, what are you going to tell those enterprises that depended on exports to the USSR?

[Ledworowski] Essentially, there is no good news for them. The Soviet economy is in a state of collapse. It has to repay substantial debts to Western states—over ten billion dollars this year and twenty billion next year. At the same, less crude oil is being extracted (between 20 and 30 percent less this year). They are short of convertible currency.

Their economy is fighting for survival. There is no question of expansion. In the main, we supplied producer goods. So, there is little likelihood of being able to rebuild the old structure of exports. We do not even know what the people in those factories with which we used to cooperate are doing today.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, the talks were not productive.

[Ledworowski] No, I would not agree with that. They did not yield results for the electrical engineering industry, but they did produce significant opportunities for exporting agricultural produce, pharmaceuticals, and goods manufactured by the light industry sector. Today, the Russians want goods that are important for their everyday existence.

Initially, consumer goods were not included on the commodity lists for this year; the lists contain items that are priorities in trade between Poland and the USSR. We were surprised that they agreed to list nothing but so-called strategic goods: coal, sulfur, and so-called cooperation goods. Now everything has changed, and consumer goods—in view of the fact that their market is starved of goods—are also of strategic significance.

We received confirmation from Prime Minister Silayev that the dollars that will be earned from exports to Poland by the end of this year will be used to buy goods from us. That will be about a quarter of a billion dollars.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, who is going to "seize the opportunity" to export to Russia?

[Ledworowski] That is something that the experts will still have to discuss, but it is probably good news for farmers.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Are you not afraid that a political battle will be waged in Poland over access to the Soviet market. The elections are coming up. Are people not going to ask why farmers should benefit from trade with Russia but, for example, the electronics industry should not?

[Ledworowski] During the negotiations we will be endeavoring to have our industrial goods included, but it is the Russians who determine the priorities. They will buy what they need most. We should bear in mind that a quarter of a billion dollars for making purchases in Poland is not all that much. At one time, we exported 4 billion dollars worth of goods—that is the approximate amount converted from rubles.

The Russians will no doubt want to buy our grain, potatoes, and meat. However, the market there is open, and anyone who wants to enter it can, but one cannot count on being paid in cash. Barter is the name of the game—exchanging goods for other goods. Our exporters will have to find goods that they can bring to Poland or sell elsewhere in exchange for their exports.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] On the first day of the coup, you said that what you feared most was an unclear situation, that is, a situation in which no Union treaty has been signed, and one does not know with whom trade should be discussed—the republics or the center.

[Ledworowski] The situation has clarified. Foreign trade lies solely within the republics' sphere of competence, irrespective of what will replace the USSR.

We have already signed a framework agreement with Russia. It amounts to the establishment of economic relations with that country. An agreement with the Ukraine has already been negotiated and initialed and is now waiting to be signed. We will shortly sign a similar document with Belorussia, and before the end of this month, with the three Baltic republics.

These are framework agreements, and they have to be followed up with other steps. We will have to agree trade terms with Russia for next year. We would like the dollars that we spend on imports from Russia to be

covered by a special payments procedure whereby the Russians would spend those dollars on imports of Polish goods.

There is a proposal to establish a "Polish-Russian House" with the participation of enterprises and banks from both sides. It would pursue manufacturing and trade activities. Its headquarters would be in Warsaw, and it would have a branch in Moscow.

There might be a problem with the other republics, because they still lack solid banking structures and experience in conducting foreign currency operations. Until now, all settlements were made through Moscow. This provides us with an opportunity to act as go-betweens. Non-Russian republics could sell their goods to the West through Poland.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] During your and Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz's visit to Moscow, the Russians turned off the oil supply for 24 hours.

[Ledworowski] I am not afraid of the supply being cut off for political reasors. We found that the leaders of Russia's democratic forces in Moscow had a positive attitude toward us. Under the communist system, supplies of strategic raw materials were used to impose discipline on the satellite states. What I fear now is something different, that the economy will become an element in an internal political contest waged on the ruins of the USSR. That can impact on Poland indirectly. I think that next year it will be possible to arrange some oil supplies centrally, in exchange for pharmaceuticals, for example. The rest will have to obtained from those who extract the commodity. Oil producing regions have very large foreign currency retention allowances (even as much as 60 percent), and they will decide how much they will sell and to whom—"Nefteeksport" (the central oil exporting agency) will receive instructions from them stating that, for example, "we want to sell so much oil in exchange for shoes." So, our foreign trade agencies will have to interest them in our goods. If they want to survive, they will have to stop specializing in a narrow way and deal in whatever they can. They have to expand their commercial networks in Russia. Marketing is necessary, something that has been unknown in that market until now. If our companies do not learn how to market their products, they will lose.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Did you bring back the 300 million dollars that the USSR owes Poland for goods that it has received this year?

[Ledworowski] It is unrealistic for us to say "Let us have our 300 million dollars" and expect them to pay up. At the "Vneshekonombank" (the foreign trade bank), specialists meet every day, collect the bills that there are, and decide which ones they have to pay. I think it will still take some time before we receive what is owed us. We have been promised that particular attention will "as far as possible" be given to these debts

Our enterprises should stop dispatching goods in the hope that the receipt of the goods will increase pressure on the bank to pay. The very opposite is true.

The Russians would willingly buy our goods on credit, but we cannot afford that.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Perhaps the West would provide them with credits to buy Polish foodstuffs?

[Ledworowski] Let us hope that that will happen.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What about the 7.5 billion ruble surplus from last year's trade with the USSR?

[Ledworowski] The surplus settles our debts with the USSR. We have already stopped paying interest on the dollar debt. We are charging interest on the Soviet ruble debt. The Russians are urging us to send grain and pharmaceuticals to repay our foreign currency debt. We believe that we have already repaid it. We agreed to establish a special commission to resolve the issue.

[GAZAETA WYBORCZA] Will others not get ahead of us and enter that market sooner?

[Ledworowski] Contrary to what is generally thought, there is no great rush to become involved in the East. The West is very cautious, is holding back on economic involvement, and is waiting to see what will happen next.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What is your assessment of the atmosphere of the Moscow talks?

[Ledworowski] Following the meeting between Prime Minister Mazowiecki and USSR Prime Minister Ryzhkov in 1990, I negotiated an agreement on "our vodka in exchange for their gas." At that time, the price structure was unfavorable for us, and I had to arrange things so that we would not have to pay anything extra. The Russians were surprised that although the prime ministers had reached agreement, I was haggling. I even heard them say: "We will lodge a protest."

That domineering tone disappeared with time, but negotiations are difficult in view of the fact that the decision-making powers of individual departments are not clear now. At one time, for example, decisions made by the head of "Gosplan" (the Soviet central planning agency) were orders for the apparatus, whereas today it is difficult to obtain guarantees that agreements will be implemented.

There is great interest in or even a fascination with Poland today. They ask us about how we made the zloty convertible: They idolize the dollar in the same way as they used to idolize Lenin. They ask us how Poland, which traditionally imported grain, now has large grain surpluses and is looking for markets.

The Russians who come here in large numbers leave Poland with a certain image. They are surprised at the fact that our shops are full, which is something that is

already normal for our society. It reminds me a little of those times when we used to look enviously at Hungary.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] When are you going to Moscow again?

[Ledworowski] Probably in the next few days, to divide up CEMA assets. We want to keep the part of the organization's building that we used. Polish companies could have representatives there. Together with European former CEMA members, we want the building, which was full of officials until now, to fill up with businessmen, bankers from those states and to become a kind of eastern European trade center, which would symbolize the new market-oriented and equal economic ties in this part of the continent.

Government Involvement in Election Campaign Viewed

LD2409001391 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Government Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski told a press confernce in Warsaw on Monday that the government would not make any momentary steps in connection with the electoral campaign to achieve short-lived effects but will "consistently pursue its policy of balance between social expectations and real possibilities."

Zarebski recalled that the government does not run in the elections and it wants to retain the clarity of its role as the executive authority that serves the reforms.

He pointed out that the future parliament is likely to be politically "dispersed," hence the government's initiative to amend the Constitution and reinforce the executive authority. "We want—rationally and without emotions—to show such a solution as one of Poland's protections against government crisis," Zarebski said.

He expressed his hope that after the elections it will be possible to reach a coalition that will closely link its political structure with its reform-oriented economic programme, while political divisions and programmatic differences, often sitting only in the words used, will be put aside.

'Solidarity 80' Group, Labor Officials Meet

LD2409001791 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Chairman of "Solidarity 80" Marian Jurczyk, at a meeting organized by Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Boni, warned that his union would continue to press the government to combat unemployment.

The meeting was meant to work out future forms of cooperation between the union and the ministry.

Minister Boni encouraged the unionists to join the process of labour market restructuring through their participation in the employment councils and creation of labour agencies. He also forwarded a project to form joint team for unemployment and employment.

The "Solidarity 80" leaders claimed they should retrieve property lost by trade unions in result of the martial law and presented their opinions to the privatization programme being against the state enterprises transformation into state treasury owned stock companies. The unionists also announced they would present shortly their alternative economic programme.

State To Intervene To Combat Unemployment

LD2309201591 Warsaw PAP in English 1758 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Sept. 23—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki allowed for the possibility of state intervention in areas particularly threatened by structural unemployment. During his talks Monday with Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski the premier agreed to a concept of state intervention as presented by Krzaklewski who said: "Situations like those in Rzeszow, Mielce or Starachowice, regions dependent on exporting to the USSR, may recur. We need to intervene there with foresight, and not leave everything to market forces, provoking strike after strike." [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Counters Media Attacks on Army

AU2409085991 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 19 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Defense Minister Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu by M.V. Iordache; date and place not given: "Any Attack on the Army Is an Attack Against the Country"]

[Text] [Iordache] Mr. Minister, a few days after your appointment, you were kind enough to grant our newspaper an interview, whose main idea was that "the Army will not let the people down." However, certain publications carry information that amounts to a sort of "letdown." Do communist structures continue in the Army?

[Spiroiu] There are no longer any kind of political structures in the Army, much less communist ones. No politics are being practiced in the Army—neither nationalistic nor chauvinistic or antisemitic, as some claim out of ill will rather than ignorance. None of the accusers could point a finger to anything, and what appeared to be concrete proof turned out to be mere supposition.

[Iordache] Was the Romanian Army ready for a coup in Romania, a coup that could have taken place simultaneously or after the coup in the USSR?

[Spiroiu] No! Throughout the duration of the coup in the USSR, I was in constant contact with all subordinate units, and there was not the least indication that there was anyone in the Romanian Army ready to sympathize with the coup perpetrators or dreaming about a would-be coup by the Romanian Army. As a matter of fact, there is nothing like that in the Romanian Army's traditions! The only soldier who took power was Marshal Antonescu, and he did not really take it, but rather received it from the head of state.

[Iordache] Are there high wages in the Army?

[Spiroiu] There are salaries at the limit of the minimum for a very modest life. In spite of our difficult conditions and an almost symbolic defense budget, however, we succeeded—with the material and financial means available to us—to fully implement our combat training program and fulfill our mission of defending the country.

[Iordache] Mr. Minister, why does the Army not react to what it considers as false reporting in certain newspapers and magazines?

[Spiroiu] We consider it beneath our dignity to answer offensive remarks that use vulgar language. It should be known, however, that all men of the Romanian Army—from simple soldiers to generals—have been and are so closely tied to the Romanian people's destiny that they consider, without any doubts, that any attack on the Army is also an attack against the country and people. Speculations to the extent that any unit or subunit would be ready to intervene against the people and demonstrators is false and riduculous. We have nothing to hide aside from military secrets.

[Iordache] General, do you like... the "Odobesti" restaurant?

[Spiroiu] I have never set foot in this restaurant, and I never saw it. After the publication of a slanderous note in some newspaper, however, the owner of that restaurant invited me there and, what is more, offered to be my witness at any trial.

[Iordache] Mr. Minister, what else would you like the public to know about the Army?

[Spiroiu] I would like the public to know that we are faced with a shortage of housing, given the fact that the dictatorship took from us the old ministry building in V. Maracineanu Street and other houses in the counties, which no one is in any hurry to return to us. Second, I would like it to be known that we consider the "Pro Patria" ["For the Fatherland"] television program—which, in our opinion, is scheduled at an inappropriate hour—as one of the best programs for patriotic education, not nationalistic, as some people claim.

[Iordache] Mr. Minister, several generals have become "characters." For instance, how would you describe General Stefan Guse [former chief of staff during the December 1989 events]?

[Spiroiu] An excellent and brave soldier, about whom no one need have any doubts. I know how much he loves the people and country, I know the kind of self-denial he is capable of, and I know how much he is obsessed with military duty and honor.

[Iordache] What about General Paul Cheler?

[Spiroiu] He is a firm commander with lots of experience. Speculations have been made about his steadfastness—so necessary in a soldier—to denigrate him. In truth, he is driven by the same sentiments of responsibility for his mission as commander of the Transylvania Army. The circumstances surrounding his retirement would entitle General Cheler to consider himself more of a dissident than many others....

[Iordache] Mr. Minister, does General Nicolae Militaru continue to have any influence in the Army?

[Spiroiu] He no longer has any direct influence. There is no truth to the allegations that he met on several occasions with the current chief of staff about the time of the coup in the USSR. The truth is that I had two or three telephone talks with General Militaru—who offered to share some of the ideas he had no time to implement during his short tenure at the ministry—but I have not met with him as yet. Anyhow, if the meeting is going to take place, I will meet him openly at the ministry. The current management of the ministry is taking steps to

modernize the Army on the basis of programs approved by the Supreme Defense Council, without any kind of interference.

[Iordache] Mr. Minister, there are three critical issues in foreign affairs on our minds: the Hungarian extremists' claims on Transylvania; the possible doubts about Poland's friendship toward Romania; and the situation in Yugoslavia. What is the position of the Ministry of National Defense on these issues?

[Spiroiu] I am convinced that the current leadership of Poland has no negative intentions toward Romania. I have full trust in the Polish Government's denial [of involvement in a controversial study on Transylvania]! Regarding the claims of Hungarian extremists: We have excellent ties with the Hungarian Army, which we continue to develop so as to know each other better and diffuse any kind of tension. We agreed to maintain such relations so as to discourage extremist outbursts and historical passions and to set an example for relations in political, economic, and other spheres. Concerning the situation in Yugoslavia, we have been and are worried about developments there, and we believe that we can contribute to discouraging an escalation of the conflict by abstaining from any specific military actions or activities capable of raising suspicion or deteriorating the otherwise excellent ties with this neighboring country. One can rule out any interference by Romania or the Romanian Army in the conflicts underway in that country. The only steps we took were to make an inventory of our potential for accommodating would-be refugees and, of course, we also took some measures to strengthen vigilance (observation measures, checks).

[Spiroiu] Thank you, Mr. Minister!

Jiu Valley Miners Stage General Strike 23 Sep

AU2309200791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1991—Starting on September 23 the miners in Jiu Valley—the largest Romanian coal field—staged a general strike.

Miners considered as unsatisfactory the results of the negotiations held with the government concerning their pay. They demand the arrival there of the government delegation headed by Premier Petre Roman as well as of a parliamentary delegation made up of the representatives of all political formations represented in parliament.

Measures To Improve Mining Industry Viewed

AU2109152891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1044 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/9/1991—Negotiations are under way with partners from Italy, Australia, Germany for leasing several fields of mining activities such as: exploitation of gold concentrates, capitalization of gold pyrites, lignite extraction, capitalization of materials from mud-setting ponds.

Mr. Costica Soare, secretary of state, head of the Mining Industry and Geology Department of the Ministry of Industry, told a news conference on Friday, September 20, that the production programme was implemented in the first eight months of this year in a proportion of only 84.2 per cent as to the achievements of the same period last year. Thus with lignite and brown coal only 19.073 million tonnes were turned out of 24.403 million tonnes, that is 78.2 per cent, and in point of deliveries to the population only 529 thousand of a total of 1.345 million tonnes were delivered, that is 39.3 per cent.

The failure to fulfill the production plans was due mainly to the failure to ensure the material base necessary to carry on activity in mines and quarries. Thus the supply with basic materials stood at only 21 per cent with copper armored cable, 33 per cent with aluminum armored cable, 50 per cent with tires, 73 per cent with battery accumulators, 83 per cent with gas oil, 54 per cent with mineral oils, 59 per cent with pit props and 54 per cent with cement.

These failures are also due to financial blocking most of suppliers requesting c.o.d. payments.

Referring to aspects related to the production of nonferrous metals, Mr. Costica Soare stressed that as to 1990 production was radically reoriented in all units turning out complex ores.

Referring to uranium ores extraction he showed that it met the requirements of the Cernavoda electric plant. He also stressed that Romania was not an uranium exporter.

Labor Ministry Officials on Unemployment Situation

AU2309194391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/9/1991—As Mr. Alecu Constantin, secretary of state at the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, head of the Work Force and Unemployment Department, shows, there are 178,398 unemployed, of which 97,015 are women.

The number of vocational-school graduates stands at 152,296, that of high-school graduates at 19,473, of which 12,835 are women, while that of higher-school graduates at 6,629, of which 3,489 are women.

Though compared to the total number of work force—more than 7 million people—the percentage of the unemployed is low, the situation is worrisome owing to its evolution: In April the number of the unemployed amounted to 51,139 of which 2,008 were higher-school graduates, in June it was of 95,867, of which 3,772 were higher-school graduates, while by mid August it was of 155,000, of which 5,800 were graduates of higher learning institutes.

The number of the unemployed that benefited by the Law No.1 /1991 which refers to social protection of the unemployed and their professional reintegration, and that were offered appropriate jobs stands at 18,976 of which 15,958 are graduates of vocational schools, 1,947 of high schools and 1,071 of higher learning units. The work force registration offices have enlisted another 74,755 persons, of which 51,947 are women, who have applied for a job as they do not benefit by the effects of the law no. 1/1991.

As for the work places available, they amount to 4,831 of which 113 for high-school graduates and 4,718 for vocational-school graduates.

The beneficiaries of the Law No 1/1991 receive unemployment benefit differentiated by categories and length of service, the quantum of which varies between 50 and 70 per cent of the latest (indexed) base pay they were given before losing their job. The unemployment compensation is paid over 180 days at the most, extending only during training courses.

The unemployment fund extant on August 31,1991 amounted to 22,121,851 thousand lei. Till then, the total expenses were put at 2,513,610 lei, of which most were to cover the unemployment relief.

The Labor and Social Welfare Department organized 2,996 training courses for the unemployed.

Several measures were adopted at a government level for the social protection of all youths that graduated from high schools. In the first nine months since their employment by state or private economic agents, the government guarantees them 60 per cent of the minimal salary per the economy from the unemployment fund, the remainder being ensured by the respective economic agent as for the graduates of higher learning institutes, in the first six months they receive 70 per cent of the minimal salary per the economy, and 30 per cent from the respective economic agent.

As Mr. Mihnea Marmeliuc, minister of labor and social welfare, stated, a social welfare bill is being worked out that will refer to the whole population of the country. By virtue of the new law, the financing sources of the social security expenses and of pensions will be set by applying a corresponding quota or membership fee in the case of those working on their account as well as through subsidies from the state budget.

Agriculture Ministry's Policy Decisions Reported

AU2109155191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1039 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/9/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman and Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of economy and finance, met at the Victoria Palace on Friday [20 September] in two round of talks with experts of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. Decisions were made on the occasion marking a new stage in the agrarian policy of the government. At the end of the talks Mr. Petre Marculescu, minister of agriculture and food industry, showed he decided that in the shortest possible time the agriculture and food industry ministry submit to the government draft decisions leading to the implementation of the reform everybody is waiting for. Among the decisions Mr. Marculescu mentioned: the passage of tractors, combines and farm machineries from commercial companies for the mechanization of agriculture and services with state capital to private ownership by selling them at a pay-off price payable in money or products;

The setting up within the Bank for Agriculture and Food of an agricultural credit up to commune level and in that framework of state-guaranteed agricultural securities for the payment of the producers' farm products;

The setting up of small and medium-sized enterprises for the distribution of oil products at preferential prices for farm operations;

The setting up of agricultural chambers as a public domain;

The setting up of specialized agricultural associations with the producer-processing-distribution integration exempted from goods circulation taxes, with preferential interest rates and priority for state orders;

The drafting of a programme for a rationed distribution of meat and meat preparations subsidized by the state in September 1991.

PNT-cd Protests Investigation of Rally Organizer

AU2409071391 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Protest" issued by the Bucharest Organization of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party]

[Text] The Bucharest Organization of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] indignantly protests the act, carried out after a proposal by Senator Solcan, vice president of the National Salvation Front and approved by the (non)democratic majority of the Senate, to investigate the case of Ticu Dumitrescu, president of the Association of Former Political Detainees of Romania, by the bodies of repression. This act is similar to the ones carried out during the communist regime and is directed at Dumitrescu for organizing the 6 September anti-communist rally calling for the ban of the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Labor.

We note that a rally does not have to be authorized by the mayoralty or by the police; it only has to be announced, and organizers must see to it that it is carried out properly.

The National Salvation Front has once again demonstrated that it still practices the methods it practiced in the March 1946-December 1989 period and wishes to

frighten the opposition and the opposing electorate; thus it began the electoral propaganda with preelectoral methods that it used before 20 May 1990.

We remind "historical" Mr. Solcan, and President Iliescu as well, that on 6 September 1940 the dictatorship of Carol II was eliminated and on 14 September 1940 the Iron Guards' dictatorship was established.

The PNTCD Bucharest Organization

Iliescu Interviewed on Ties With Hungary

LD2209204691 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 22 (MTI)—"As far as our relations with Hungary is concerned, we start from the consideration that we have been living together here, in this part of Europe, for long centuries. We have a common history, which included not only confrontations, tense moments, historical debates and conflicts but even some signs of co-existence," Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, said in the latest issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

"Our fate is determined by the need to learn to live together and co-ordinate our interests. We must live together here, in this part of Europe, and we can only do this if we display open attitudes based on mutual respect and understanding towards one another and seek for our common interests that bring us close to one another. We have plenty of interests in common since we are neighbours. In our history, we must look for what unites rather than separates us. We should not keep grubbing in the sources of tension. Such sources can always be found since history provided plenty of examples for tension and mutual distrust. We should look for the good sides of co-existence since there are plenty of that, too. We want to do that," Iliescu says.

Concerning the development of Romanian-Hungarian relations, Iliescu says: "In a letter addressed to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, I raised the idea that we should not make our approach to the essential issues of bilateral relations dependent on specific questions of detail. We have plenty of common achievements: due to the good relationship between the defence ministries, the two countries signed an 'open skies' agreement, which was welcomed all over Europe as an expression of the mutual endeavour for eliminating the elements of suspicion and tension. Our cultural ministries are also maintaining good relations. There are plenty of economic agreements and we may consider further ones. It would be a good political signal if the two countries' political leadership displayed openness. As for me, I was ready for direct contacts, particularly for finalising our bilateral cooperation treaty. Last spring we sent a draft agreement to Hungary. Now we are waiting for the comments and proposals so that we could finalize and sign it. This would be a political signal dispelling a good deal of suspicion and distrust, and demonstrating the political will of the two states, leaders to place inter-state relations on a new foundation of mutual confidence. This is the point of my message which, I hope, will call forth a favourable reaction," Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, told NEPSZABADSAG.

Federal

Mesic Accuses Kadijevic of 'Conspiracy' With Yazov

LD2009154191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] In his statement to Yutel over the phone last night, President of the SFRY Presidency Stipe Mesic confirmed that Federal Premier Ante Markovic has demanded the resignation of Defense Minister General Veljko Kadijevic and of his deputy Stane Brovet. Mesic also said that Ante Markovic had unveiled the conspiracy following Gen. Kadijevic's liaison with Soviet General Yazov.

In other words, two coups were to take place in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia, he said, and added that Kadijevic had visited Moscow and negotiated a deal in order to equip the Yugoslav Army with state-of-the-art weapons and equipment without the knowledge of the Federal Executive Council or the State Presidency. President Mesic also said that cooperation in Yugoslavia is only possible if there is a political will to this effect, whereas there has never been any will on the part of Serbia. This will is still missing.

Mesic Seeks Committee To Dissolve Federation

LD2409095691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0805 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Federal President Stipe Mesic has told the FREE CROATIA newspaper that a committee should replace the existing government. This committee would consist of the prime ministers of all the Yugoslav republics and perhaps the federal prime minister. The committee would oversee the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Mesic added that this would be possible only if the cease-fire holds. If it did not, Croatia will leave the federation on 7 October when the moratorium expires.

Mesic Interviewed on Current Crisis

LD2309112991 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Interview with Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic, by telephone from Zagreb, by correspondent Peter Snow in London on 20 September; from the "Newsnight" program—Mesic in Serbo-Croatian with English translation—live]

[Text] [Snow] Speaking through his official interpreter, I began by asking him what he thought the Army's intentions were in crossing the Croation border.

[Mesic] It's a plan that was drawn long ago. What has been done is Slovenia has been driven out of Yugoslavia, and with the retreat of the Army, Serbia has got rid of Slovenia. Serbia is trying to occupy Croatia, destroy Croatian potential, and impose its own option on Croatia—the option of Slobodan Milosevic.

[Snow] Do you really mean that you believe that the Army is now out to occupy the whole of Croatia?

[Mesic] I think not all of Croatia. What we have here is the occupation of some vital parts of Croatia—some Croatian cities. The Army is after conquering Croatian territory, but maybe not conquering Zagreb itself.

[Snow] Military sources in Belgrade tell the BBC that the Army is only going into Croatia to liberate the Army units that are bottled up in the barracks there by Croatian forces.

[Mesic] This is only an excuse for the aggressor's occupation. The aggressor is seeking reasons for his actions. First of all, it is not correct that they have to set free their garrisons. Actually, they are using those garrisons to make attacks from them, attacks upon all kinds of places, the towns themselves and the surrounding areas. The attacks are carried out from all kinds of weapons. Various units have been under attack—I mean economic units.

[Snow] Do you think, Mr. Mesic, this is the time to end all pretense that you are still president of anything that can really be called Yugoslavia?

[Mesic] General [Veljko] Kadijevic put his signature on the agreement on cease-fire. He promised that the Army would retreat to the barracks. He promised that peace would be restored. But actually, by his very signing the agreement, he already announced the arrival of the coup. He put his signature down on the document—the agreement on cease-fire—without president's backing, without government backing, which means he made his decision autonomously and that the Army has been operating in an autonomous manner. In other words, this has actually been a coup. This also means that the Presidency no longer holds or represents real power.

Envoy to France Submits Resignation

LD2309184491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav ambassador in Paris, Bozidar Gagro, submitted today his irrevocable resignation, TANJUG correspondent has learnt.

Gagro announced this at a short meeting, which he convened suddenly at the Embassy at noon. On that occasion he said he would issue a personal statement during the day.

Bozidar Gagro, a diplomat from the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which made the decision of secession on June 25, disappeared suddenly from Paris last Friday saying he had to go to Zagreb for family reasons. He reappeared in Paris last Wednesday.

The absence of Gagro from the Embassy was kept secret. It is not known if the ministry of foreign affairs in Belgrade was informed about it, although that ministry had issued orders that nobody can leave their posts without its approval.

Foreign Ministry Views Resignation

LD2309200891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 23 (TANJUG)—TANJUG was told at the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry today that the Yugoslav ambassador in Paris, Bozidar Gagro, abused his office when he sharply attacked his country while announcing his resignation today.

'Statements by Yugoslav diplomats and other state officials which transcend the framework of Yugoslavia's defined policy represent personal stands and should be considered outside the office held by those officials,' TANJUG was told at the Federal Foreign Ministry.

Gagro, a diplomat from the Yugoslav republic of Croatia which has recently decided to secede from Yugoslavia, convened a brief meeting at the embassy in Paris today at which he submitted his resignation. In his resignation speech, Gagro, sharply criticized the republic of Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry emphasized that Gagro was to return to Yugoslavia shortly, having completed his term as ambassador to France. He had been instructed to wind up his mission and hand over to his replacement, TANJUG learned at the Foreign Ministry.

Federal Executive Council Welcomes Cease-Fire Results

LD2309160191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—At its session today, presided over by Ante Markovic, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] welcomed the presence of some results of the latest agreement on cease-fire and on lifting the blockade of barracks in the Republic of Croatia and noted that the Igalo cease-fire agreement must be fully implemented, the FEC Information Secretariat announced.

It was concluded that a new meeting should be urgently convened of the signatories from Igalo to specify the obligations in securing the existing cease-fire.

In view of the fact that the current situation is favorable for further involvement of the EC mediating mission, the FEC suggested that a letter be sent to EC President Van den Broek with a plea for additional engagement. This would provide conditions for implementing the Belgrade cease-fire agreement and the memorandum on the EC observer mission.

The FEC also sent an appeal for an urgent session of the SFRY Presidency in its capacity of Supreme Command and for a joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Government. The sessions are imperative in light of, inter alia, the disturbing situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina which the Federal Government learned about from a report by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and a letter from the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry.

It was agreed that competent Federal departments should urgently meet representatives of the republics of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to restore railway, air, and road traffic, post and telephone comunications, and electricity system and to discuss the issue of refugees.

The FEC appointed its vice president—Aleksandar Mitrovic—to coordinate activities to this end.

Air Force Condemns Croatian Official's 'Treason'

LD2309173591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1548 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 23 (TANJUG)—The command of the Air Force and Air Defence of the Yugoslav People's Army today released a statement condemning the act of treason committed by Colonel General Anton Tus, who was named head of the general staff of Croatia's Armed Forces yesterday.

The statement says that "this personal act committed by Col.-Gen. Anton Tus is evidence of his immorality and hypocrisy, and an example of treason such as we often face nowadays."

Col.-Gen. Tus was sent into retirement as commander of the Yugoslav Air Force in July during clashes between the Yugoslav Army and the territorial defence of the Republic of Slovenia.

The Croatian leadership has shown that it intends to destroy the Air Force—the strike force of the Yugoslav People's Army by appointing Tus head of the General Staff of its army, the statement says.

Croatia Reports Relative Calm, Minor Cease-Fire Violations

LD2309095391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0803 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by Alan Bidema]

[Text] The republic's information center reports that the night passed relatively peacefully in Croatia. The order from President Tudjman and General Kadijevic regarding a cease-fire is, for the most part, being respected. The blockade of Adriatic ports has been lifted. [short break in reception]

There have been breaches of the cease-fire in the Slovene town of Vukovar. Late last night and early this morning

detonations, explosions, and gunfire were heard in the town and in surrounding areas. The shooting and firing came from enemy-held ground. The Croatian Defense Forces did not respond to the provocation.

There is a lull in hostilities in Nova Gradiska. Yesterday the town was subjected to bombing and rocket fire. During the attack the council chambers, the orthodox church, and many public and private buildings were hit. Telephone connections between Nova Gradiska and Zagreb were cut and have not been reconnected.

TANJUG Reports on Cease-Fire Implementation

LD2309175591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept. 23 (TANJUG)—The Croatian authorities started connecting the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army to water and power networks, but most of them are still under a blockade, TANJUG has learnt from military sources.

The deblocking of barracks is one of the provisions of the ceasefire agreement, announced parallelly yesterday at 15:00 local time (13:00 GMT) by the military and the Croatian authorities.

According to information coming from crisis areas, Croatia is today much more peaceful then the previous days.

There were armed skirmishes today around Vukovar and Osijek, in Slavonia, a Croatian region densely populated by Serbs, which has been in a state of war for months now.

Peace in Slavonia was confimed to the TANJUG correspondent by the president of the self-proclaimed autonomous region of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem, Goran Hadzic.

However, Hadzic accused the Croatian forces that they had opened fire repeatedly on Serbian territorial defense personnel who were observing the agreed ceasefire.

News over Croatian radio that the day was a peaceful one also in the region of Dalmatia were confirmed today by the Knin Army Corps command.

However, the Knin Corps accused the Croatian police and guardsmen that by attacking the barracks in Sibenik, central Adriatic coast, the had violated the newly-established ceasefire.

The information service of the Knin Corps points out in its announcement today that units of the Knin Corps "are abiding consistently by the order of the supreme command" and are "observing absolutely the ceasefire."

According to the same announcement, the Croatian forces fired yesterday and last evening at military facilities and Army units in Zadar and Biograd na Moru. It is not said if the Army responded to the attacks. The announcement indicated only that attacks on the positions of the Knin Corps near Sinj had been countered.

The crisis headquarters of the city of Rijeka in the northern part of the Adriatic, the TANJUG correspondent reports, has met with the commander of the Rijeka Corps, General Marjan Cad. It was agreed that "control over armed extremists be established at any cost".

Last night, a group of armed men attacked the barracks in Delnice, about thirty kilometers north-east of Rijeka, and wounded the standing guard.

According to Croatian radio, there were no armed clashes today in Banija, central Croatia, which is almost entirely under the control of the Serbian territorial defense and the Army.

Titograd Soldiers Refuse Orders, Face Punishment

LD2309195491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1829 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—A group of soldiers of Muslim nationality from one of the Titograd Corps combat units which, under a decision by the Supreme Command Staff was transferred to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, refused to obey an order by its superior command to carry out combat tasks beyond the territory of Montenegro.

According to the Titograd Corps Information Office, the soldiers justified their conduct by saying they were prepared to fight on the territory of Montenegro but not outside it.

Under military regulations, disciplinary measures have been taken against the group for refusing to carry out allotted tasks. Proceedings have been set in motion against the group by military justice bodies.

Unless established otherwise, the group has committed a serious criminal act, punishable by 3-10 years in prison.

Gligorijevic Views Markovic Reconstruction Plans

LD2309194691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1618 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav parliamentary President Slobodan Gligorijevic today asked Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic to specify his proposal for reconstruction of the Federal Government, i.e. the dismissals of certain members of the cabinet.

Markovic on September 20 asked that Gligorijevic in the shortest possible time convene a session of both parliamentary chambers at which the Federal prime minister would propose the dismissal of certain members of the government and the election of new members.

Gligorijevic and the leadership of the Federal parliament, as set out in the statement, believe that Markovic's demand is 'vague, in the first place from the standpoint

of constitutional provisions and the rules of procedure' and also that some 'stands are inadequately explained.'

Prime Minister Markovic last week announced the reconstruction of the government without specifying which ministers he was thinking of. However, Markovic at a session of the Federal Government on September 18, asked for the resignations of Federal secretary for Defence Army General Veljko Kadijevic and his Deputy Admiral Stane Brovet.

The development, finance and foreign trade ministries within the Federal Government are without their ministers after the Federal ministers from Slovenia and Croatia withdrew following the decisions of the republics to secede.

Gligorijevic today asked that Markovic clarify further what kind of a demand he sent to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Markovic as mandator, under the country's Constitution, has the right to propose to the Federal parliament dismissals of members of the Federal Government. The Federal parliament is exclusively in charge of deciding on such a proposal. However, the work of the Yugoslav Assembly has been blocked since this summer after delegates from Slovenia and Croatia stopped attending the sessions.

Markovic Seeks Kadijevic, Brovet Resignations

AU2309135491 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 91 pp 1,7

[D. Vucinic report: "Ante Markovic Demands Resignations of Kadijevic and Brovet"]

[Text] At the session of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] the evening before last, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic demanded that Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and his deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet should submit their resignations.

If they fail to do so, the premier would use his constitutional right and relieve Kadijevic and Brovet of their duties.

As we have learned unofficially, the president of the Federal Government pointed out that he was aware of what this decision might mean for him personally, even in the physical sense. However, this decision is essential if one wants to stop further mass killings of people and the demolition of towns and villages (today in Croatia, and tomorrow perhaps in the entire country), but also to restore the confidence of all Yugoslav peoples in their own Army. The Army is neither a Yugoslav nor is it a peoples' army if it is—as it is at the moment—involved in a civil war in Yugoslavia and sides with one of the warring sides, FEC president said.

Speaking about the ever more catastrophic escalation of the war in Croatia, which is threatening to spill over at any moment into Bosnia-Hercegovina, and then perhaps to Sandzak, Kosovo, and other regions in the country, Markovic said—as we have learned—that he does not absolve the other participants of guilt for this. This applies, for instance, to the leadership of Croatia or the leadership of Serbia. It is a fact, however, that these people were elected by others, so they should be called to account by these "others" for their decisions, moves, acts, or their failure to act.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense, however, is a part of the FEC. Because in Croatia at the moment the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is in fact at war with one republic, such a catastrophe cannot be allowed to continue, because one cannot even explain and certainly not justify the use of tanks, ships, and helicopters, the destruction of entire towns, etc. This is an abuse of the position of the Army, which must now be immediately given a new leadership in order to give it back its character of being the Yugoslav and people's Army, without which the complete disintegration of both the YPA and Yugoslavia would be inevitable, something that is in fact already under way.

Ante Markovic said that this would be the first step on the necessary road toward a reconstruction of the Army, which must not be a political power. He added that he could appoint an acting federal secretary for national defense within 48 hours.

Circles close to the Federal Government point out that the evening before last, Ante Markovic most probably took the FEC members by surprise with his proposal on resignation, that is, decision to replace the heads of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, General Kadijevic and Admiral Brovet. This was even more the case since discussion about the war situation in Croatia was not on the agenda of the session at all and perhaps also because Markovic had also called for such a debate in the past but this had been rejected by government members.

If this war, which has been escalating horribly day by day, continues, Markovic said, even if we fail to kill each other off completely, there will be such socioeconomic poverty that the people will certainly "sweep out" all their own and the "other side's" leaderships. Unfortunately, honest people will suffer along with the culprits and the people will not be spared the catastrophic economic consequences.

The EC will suspend economic relations with Yugoslavia (and Yugoslavia exports 60 percent of its products to the EC), the world will confiscate Yugoslav property and foreign exchange reserves outside its borders, the delivery of oil will stop, etc.

I Was Considering Resignation

If the FEC cannot influence the authorities in Croatia or Serbia to advocate peace instead of war, it can and must do so with its members. The premier also reminded the government members attending the session about two letters he had received last March in which Kadijevic

and Gracanin informed him that they refused further cooperation with the FEC. He added that it was true that Gracanin's "refusal of cooperation" applied to only one session and not to all.

"That night, the U. S. ambassador called me on the telephone and asked whether I had been arrested and whether the FEC was still functioning."

In his speech at the session, Markovic also touched upon the commitment of the Army in the war in Slovenia. The federal Government, he said, did make a decision about the protection of Yugoslav borders in this area. However, it had never and by no means decided the method of Army intervention. "In this case, the FEC was absolutely manipulated by the YPA or by those people for whose aims the YPA acted in the way it did."

The premier was against the Army proposal and the decision that the Army should abandon the state borders in Slovenia. He said that he had asked to be given an explanation for this move, but failed to receive one. This is why he, together with Minister Loncar, contemplated submitting his resignation, having realized that what happened in Slovenia was in fact the beginning of the end of both Yugoslavia and its Army.

What Kadijevic and Yazov Talked About

The war that was then transferred to Croatia was the war that was to a great extent caused by the Croatian leadership with its mistaken policy, the policy that had caused great discontent for the local Serbs. However, this is at the same time a war for the redrawing of borders in Yugoslavia. Nor can the horrible destruction of entire towns be justified by any means. On the very day the FEC session was held, the president of the Croatian Government informed the president of the Yugoslav Government that a tower on Sljeme (over Zagreb) had been hit with a missile [raketirati] and that a factory had been destroyed.

Markovic recalled that as early as 27 August he had tried to initiate a debate in the FEC about the situation in Croatia, in the presence of the federal secretary for national defense, of course. This was not wanted. Unfortunately, Kadijevic is really ill, Markovic said, but it is still unacceptable for him only to have attended two government sessions since March. (By the way, he declined the invitation to the latest FEC session with the explanation that "the war is under way, so I have no time for sessions.") Markovic is of the opinion that the YPA should explain how it came to be —and why it came to be—that a "Yugoslav team" headed by General Kadijevic had visited Moscow on 13 March 1991 without anybody knowing about the visit ("was it really that nobody knew?") and talked with General Yazov, and that still nobody knows what these talks were about. The president was later informed by leading figures in Russia that a purchase of a huge quantity of weapons for the YPA (including missile systems, planes, and helicopters) was agreed on then, and that this had nothing to do with official agreements between the two countries' governments.

He said that it was also necessary to explain to him (and that is said on the cassette sent to him) whether it is true that President Milosevic instructed (or ordered, it does not matter which) Radovan Karadzic to contact General Uzelac from Bosnia Krajina "in connection with the RAM program." Markovic noted that he does not know what "RAM" is, but that he had been told that it is allegedly a program for a Greater Serbia, for which the Serbs in Croatia had been armed.

Brovet Did Not Agree

Ante Markovic then said that one should see how the YPA can be disentangled from what it has been pushed into, how it can be reduced to the real scope [domasaj] that belongs to it as any normal Army of a normal country, and how to save it, the individuals, and the people, as well as the union of republics within Yugoslavia.

For this purpose, everything must be changed, "including us here and the Army," the FEC president said adding that the responsibility of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense for everything happening in the country is clear and great. He says that he has nothing against additional investigations if need be, but that he is against the continuation of this catastrophic plunge into even more mass deaths and destruction in the country. For, the time has come for us to confront the fact that we are facing the decision between one side or the other. As far as I am concerned, I have decided, Ante Markovic said.

As far as we know, Admiral Brovet did not agree with Markovic's speech, noting that "unlike the premier," Van den Broek "realized who is to blame for the escalation of the war in Croatia, namely the Croatian authorities and their armed forces and not the YPA. He told Markovic that he should say in public all that he had said at the session "and the public will know exactly who is to blame."

Vice President Mitrovic also did not agree with the president's proposal to relieve Kadijevic and Brovet of their duties, but he admitted that he knew about the orders of weapons and military equipment from the Soviet Union.

A continuation of this FEC session was scheduled for yesterday, 19 September at 1400 [1200 GMT].

Paper Assails Markovic Policy on Army Leadership

LD2209115891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 22 (TANJUG—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI today accuses Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic of trying to give a "fully Serbian

character" to the Yugoslav Army and thus discredit it in the eyes of the other Yugoslav nations.

The commentary in VECERNJE NOVOSTI comes as a reaction to Markovic's request earlier this week for the resignations of the federal defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, and the deputy defence minister, Admiral Stane Brovet.

The daily avers that it was Markovic's intention to force Gen. Kadijevic and Admiral Brovet, cadres from the republics of Croatia and Slovenia, respectively, to resign to bring to the helm of the Army the chief of the general staff, Gen. Blagoje Adzic, a Serb. The taking of the helm of the Army by a Serb would finally "enrage the few remaining vacillating forces in Croatia," and might force the Yugoslav Muslims to "come flocking to the side of Croatia," VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes.

This would definitely open a front in the central republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose population is 43 percent Muslim, 30 percent Serb and 17 percent Croat, to the death of the last Muslim or Serb, the Belgrade daily writes.

Montenegro's Kostic Says Markovic Should Resign

LD2409101191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0825 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—"As regards my departure for Sarajevo, I am no longer thinking about this. I am definitely not going," SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic, (the representative of Montenegro), told Titograd's POBJEDA, in connection with the latest initiative to hold a meeting of the collective head of state.

Kostic assesses that "all of this is a constituent part of the game that Mesic is playing and which, roughly speaking, comes down to an attempt to block the work of the Presidency in a situation in which the Assembly is blocked and in which Ante Markovic, as president of the Federal Executive Council, sensing that he has no support (when his government has been decimated), is making some moves that by all accounts are accelerating his demise."

In his statement to today's POBJEDA, Kostic also assesses that Mesic probably intends by this blocking attempt to create a situation in the federation from which he has in advance drawn the conclusion that the Army is acting on its own initiative and that it has carried out a military coup. However, Kostic added, it is clear from everything that has been done so far that the Army and the Supreme Command are acting in accordance with the decisions of the SFRY Presidency that were adopted previously and that are still in force.

Replying to a direct question about Ante Markovic, the SFRY Presidency vice president set out his view that the most sensible thing for the federal prime minister to do would be "to see for himself where his actions have led this country and to resign" so that he may open up space "for us to try and form an interim government." Everything that Markovic does and is doing indicates that these are moves by a desperate man on his last legs. By his actions he is only making the situation more dramatic, Kostic assessed.

Kadijevic Statement Blames Croatia for Situation

LD2109165691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for National Defense, today sent a statement to TANJUG which reads:

"We are witnesses to the fact that armed formations of the Republic of Croatia are completely ignoring the latest cease-fire agreement which we signed on 17 September with the involvement of the respected diplomat from Great Britain, Lord Carrington, chairman of the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. The regime in Croatia, making use of notorious Ustasha methods and Goebbel-like propaganda, has succeeded in stirring things up and imparting an impassioned chauvinism to its adherents, while by its overall action it has succeeded in destroying bridges between the Croatian and Serbian people, destroying the economy, and dragging most of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia into bloody intranational conflicts.

"It has been confirmed several times already that by these actions, it is not intent on peace. They have not respected one of the agreements reached so far. It is obvious that the bosses and forces behind them are hurrying to achieve by force what they could not achieve in a legal and democratic way. This is also the reason why they created numerous armed formations which over the past few days have been committing terrible crimes, thus reviving dramatic historical memories.

"Apart from attacking Serbian inhabitants in Croatia, they are also making unscrupulous attacks on members of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] and members of their families. Water and food is being taken away from them. The wives and children of our comrades are being moved out of their apartments. They are being persecuted, arrested, and mistreated. For a long time now we have not known of the fate of some members of the YPA. Unscrupulous fire is aimed at all military facilities, while hundreds of armed men are sent out against small isolated formations consisting of several soldiers and officers. Military convoys from Slovenia are being stopped and plundered.

"The fact is that the Yugoslavia that we knew until recently no longer exists. The Presidency of Yugoslavia has been smashed. It is headed by one of the main protagonists of the establishment of fascist-like authorities in Croatia and a proven adversary of Yugoslavia. The [Federal] Assembly has disintegrated, and the prime minister is trying to accuse others in a very transparent

way for his own great failings, which have made a vital contribution to, or have even facilitated, the chaos and the disintegration of the country. As a result of all this, the country is moving very rapidly toward the maelstrom of an all-encompassing civil war and genocide against the Serbian population in Croatia.

"We did everything in our power to prevent bloodshed. We warned about the threatening policy of fait accompli which is breaking up the country and we proposed in due time concrete solutions for a peaceful and democratic conclusion of the Yugoslav crisis, based on the SFRY Constitution. We never denied any Yugoslav nation its right to independently decide its own fate, and even to decide whether it wants to remain in Yugoslavia or not. We never thought that the Army could resolve the country's political, economic, national, or any other problems. For this reason all these insinuations about a military coup and so-called 'well-intentioned suggestions' that 'the Army is taking things into its own hands' are objectively on the same line and as such unacceptable.

"We only carried out our constitutional duties and acted in accordance with the decisions already passed by the SFRY Presidency concerning Army involvement in preventing intra-national conflicts and in relocating YPA units from Slovenia. In so doing we demonstrated extreme restraint, even to the detriment of the Army's integrity and the safety of its members.

"The latest events forced the Supreme Command Headquarters to pass a decision on taking decisive military actions. The aim is to lift the blockade of Army units and installations and carry out the tasks laid down by the (SFRY) Presidency concerning the prevention of serious intra-national conflicts and the relocation of YPA units from Slovenia. It is the duty of patriots of all nations—together with members of the Armed Forces—to join in the rescue of their friends and people in crisis-stricken areas uncompromisingly, with self-sacrifice and responsibility.

"As always, the Army has no political ambitions. We do not want power and it is not our intention to influence final solutions as to the country's future order," Army Gen Veljko Kadijevic, Federal Secretary for National Defense, said at the end of his statement.

Kostic Says Presidency 'Again Being Obstructed'

LD2309183291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1752 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Novi Sad, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Jugoslav Kostic, the member of the Yugoslav state Presidency from the province of Vojvodina, today said that the collective head of state is again being obstructed. Speaking at a press conference in the provincial capital of Novi Sad, Kostic said that the state Presidency cannot convene because its president and member from the Republic of Croatia Stjepan Mesic is constantly in Zagreb, its member from the Republic of Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski is on holiday and Janez Drnovsek, from Slovenia, is on a trip abroad.

Kostic said that the members of the Presidency who do come to Belgrade "convene in meetings, not sessions, although it is at session alone that they can take binding decisions."

The state Presidency has not met in full since The Hague conference on September 7. Secretary General of the Yugoslav Presidency Anton Stari did not today rule out the possibility of the collective head of state meeting soon.

Stari said that Mesic needs Presidency decisions if he intends to have official standing at the U.N. General Assembly in New York.

Kostic today said that if Drnovsek and Mesic should leave the Presidency within the next 15 days, "great responsibility will fall on Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, whose attitude will determine the way out of this agony."

The independence declarations of Croatia and Slovenia have been suspended for three months, and the moratorium expires on October 7.

Kostic: No Secession Under Current Constitution

LD2409014991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0040 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 23 (TANJUG)—"The Presidency of Yugoslavia has not accepted and never will accept any form of secession as long as the existing Constitution and the nation's system of law are in force," Branko Kostic, vice-president of Yugoslavia's Presidency, has said in a statement coming out in tomorrow's issue of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, in his comments on the daily's claim that Yugoslavia's republics of Slovenia and Croatia are waiting for October 7 and 13 respectively to "finally break away from Yugoslavia, become independent states and have international recognition granted."

On these two dates due to run out is a three-month moratorium (cooling-off period) provided in the Brioni declaration for coming to terms on Yugoslavia's future.

"Joint rules for some republic's secession from Yugoslavia have to be defined and ratified by the Federal Assembly," Vice-President Kostic says.

"The said process cannot be avoided since it implies changes in external and internal borders and fixing mutual obligations among all republics and between all republics and state in Yugoslavia," Kostic adds.

As for the moratorium's running out, the Presidency of Yugoslavia "never fixed the time for it to either start or run out," Vice- President Kostic remarks. This is why some republics consider that the moratorium is due to

run out on October 7 and others on October 13, probably referring to the dates on which the Brioni declaration and the so-called memorandum were signed.

Through contacts at the Presidency of Yugoslavia an impression has been gained that neither October 7 nor October 13 will upset the collective chief of state's functioning, but, as a matter of course, nobody would rule out damages "a unilateral secession" of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia could inflict "on both the two republics and the other peoples in Yugoslavia," POLITIKA adds.

Zagreb Military Prosecutor Resigns

LD2309080691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0100 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Colonel Jovan Catic, military prosecutor of the Fifth Military District Command in Zagreb, has demanded that the military prosecutor relieve him of his post and terminate his military term of service.

As a lawyer and humanist, Catic stresses, I cannot accept that the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia can be resolved through a brutal war against the Republic of Croatia, of which he and his family are loyal citizens. Moreover, he cannot accept the role taken on by the Army in this war.

Factories Producing More Products for War

LD2309120191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sep 23 (TANJUG)—A growing number of factories in Yugoslavia are shifting to war-time production, the Belgrade daily BORBA says today.

The Croatian Government has informed the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy (PKJ) that the republic has officially transferred its economy to war-time conditions. Some other Yugoslav republics have done the same, but have failed to officially confirm the move.

Armoured personnel carriers are already being made in Split (Croatia), and the shipyards 3. Maj and Torpedo of Rijeka are producing various military equipment, BORBA says. The factory Olt of Osijek is manufacturing parts for mortars, the enterprise Gorenje of Velenje (Slovenia) is making new type of automatic rifles, and the factory Crvena Zastava of Kragujevac (Serbia) is forming waiting lists for arms deliveries.

International

Separovic Criticizes EC, Austrian Policy

AU2309101391 Vienna PROFIL in German 23 Sep 91 p 57

[Interview with Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by Rudolf Gruber in Zagreb; date not given: "A Dream Has Shattered"]

[Text] [Gruber] Minister, your increasingly offensive defense policy is escalating to a test of power between Croatia and the Army. Do you really believe that an even bigger disaster can be avoided in this way?

[Separovic] I am optimistic that it will not come to the worst. Serbia is waging an open, dirty, and undeclared war against Cr atia. By occupying Croatian territory, Serbia wants to realize its dream of a Greater Serbia, while the Yugoslav Army is trying to reestablish a communist Yugoslavia. We have now come to a critical point: On one side, EC efforts for a cease-fire and peace, on the other side, pressure on Croatia, like that exerted by Mr. Van den Broek. In this process the differences are overlooked, the fact that not all parties to this conflict are equal—there is an aggressor and a victim. With its offensive defense Croatia simply wants to survive, because the war is being waged on Croatian territory. The Yugoslav Army has now become fearful that, after the war against Slovenia, it might now also lose the war against Croatia under strong international pressure.

[Gruber] Can diplomacy stop an Army that is out of control?

[Separovic] The Army is shaken by various factors. It is fighting for a lost cause; one cannot revive communism. It is shaken by civilian protests; it is a tragedy that the young people are blockaded in mined barracks. And, not least, the Army is shaken by Croatia's defense: With our new tactic, the blockade of barracks, we are preventing the soldiers from fighting against us.

[Gruber] Was the Army not provoked carelessly when your government stopped supplies to the barracks?

[Separovic] We stopped in particular the supply of oil, via the Rijeka-Sisak-Belgrade pipeline. This did indeed greatly affect the Army, but the same goes for the halt of supplies of electricity, water, and food. One should not reproach us, this is a typical passive method of defense. We are acting on the basis of the principle of self-protection by at least not supporting the aggressor. The Army has 2,200 tanks, 460 combat planes, and about 40 warships. For their operation it needs at least 150,000 liters of oil per day to wage war against us. And we are supposed to deliver that?

[Gruber] Could UN peacekeeping forces bring peace to the Croatian-Serbian border?

[Separovic] I wrote a letter to Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. He drew up a 40-page report for the General Assembly on the occasion of World Peace Day (17 September): Yugoslavia is not mentioned once in this appeal for peace. This is absolutely unacceptable, and I protested against this energetically. The Federal Government is not permitting the war in Croatia to be brought before the United Nations, even though it is war of international concern in the middle of Europe.

[Gruber] What do you accuse the EC of specifically?

[Separovic] We accuse the EC of reacting too little and too late. In addition, the peace conference in The Hague has been turned into a conference on a new Yugoslavia. What Lord Carrington is chairing is no longer a peace conference, because for that a cease-fire would be a precondition. I hold Lord Carrington in high esteem, but he is trying to revive a dead state. Therefore, I told Lord Carrington: Croatia is not interested in such a conference. We are interested in peace and in principles that do not permit borders to be changed by force.

[Gruber] Nevertheless, you are going to The Hague again. What do you expect to happen?

[Separovic] As a last resort there would be the model of Kuwait: Finding out who the aggressor is; then one can put him into his place with international action—an economic blockade, political isolation. Did this happen in the case of Kuwait only because of the oil? Was this only because of U.S. interests? If so, this would be bad. This time the Americans left everything to Europe. And Europe is divided: There are some countries that understand Croatia and Slovenia rather well, and others that have nationality problems that are similar to those in Yugoslavia.

[Gruber] How do you judge Austria's behavior?

[Separovic] I am sorry that a dream, which I still had in Alpbach, was shattered. There Vranitzky, Mock, and Busek, spoke very optimistically about the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. However, this was not done. I cannot hide a certain disappointment about that. In the parliamentary debate on Yugoslavia, Deputy Peter Schieder from the Social Democratic Party of Austria again came out strongly against Tudjman. He was here in Zagreb; I am sorry that his impressions were not positive. His claim that Tudjman said that Croatia needs recognition to buy weapons is a false assertion. Recognition would bring us UN peacekeeping forces.

Separovic on Request for Outside Help

LD2309131191 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Interview with Croation Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by telephone from Zagreb, by correspondent Sheena MacDonald in London on 21 September; from "The World This Week" program—live]

[Text] [MacDonald] Good evening, Mr. Separovic.

[Separovic] Good evening, Ms. MacDonald.

[MacDonald] Thank you for joining us. Can you tell us about today's attempts to deal with the crisis by the parliament in Croatia?

[Separovic] There was no parliament session...

[MacDonald, interrupting] Excuse me, government.

[Separovic] Yes, government session, and we decided to improve our position, if it is possible, by enforcing our defense. There is a decision on looking and asking for international intervention, and also we requested Prime Minister Markovic and Foreign Minister Loncar, from the federal government, to resign. They are namely from Croatia, but they do not represent all people. They are trying to sentence the lost case of Yugoslavia.

[MacDonald] Can I pick up that first point. You're asking for help from outside Croatia. Help from whom? What kind of help?

[Separovic] We have been not delighted that the decision of the declaration of Yugoslavia, passed by the European Community, the EC declaration from the one from The Hague from the day before yesterday, stated just that they welcome the WEU [Western European Union], that they explored ways in which the activities of the monitors could be supported so as to make their work a more effective contribution to the peacekeeping effort. [sentence as heard] We feel it is not enough, and it is necessary at international action, not only for the EC—they do not have proper forces—but from the side of the Security Council of the United Nations, and in case of war against Croatia has been brought to the Security Council. [sentence as heard] There are proposals passed by Canada, followed by Australia, Hungary, Austria, and some other countries, and we hope that the UN forces, peacekeeping forces, should come as soon as possible to help to stop the war. We know that it is not easy, but it is our last hope.

[MacDonald] This hope has been expressed before, Mr. Separovic. Why do you think certain countries have been very reluctant to agree? Countries like Britain, say.

[Separovic] It is hard to say. They have their own policy. We are actually disappointed by the behavior of some of the states who are not ready and willing to prepare to help, and to have an insight into the situation which is a real war, and which might get even worse. The bloodshed has taken place already all around Croatia. So, the U.K. and other countries, all European countries, should realize how bad war it is and that they should intervene and help.

[MacDonald] Because, the point that is always made here is, first of all, war has not been formally declared, that it is an internal situation. There cannot be a peacekeeping force until peace is made by the constituent parts who are formally still part of a united Yugoslavia. In other words, there is no precedent for the kind of international action which you hope for.

[Separovic] There is a precedent that has happened already in the Gulf War. You said exactly what has been said yesterday by the secretary general of the United Nations, and it is absolutely unacceptable—that's the statement that the whole war in Croatia has been internal matter of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia does not exist anymore. We are in war. We have declared our independence. Slovenia has done the same thing, and we need

recognition. The world needs a good insight in the whole problem. Unless it will be too late, the world should support and come and help. I don't know how, but if we are keeping with the formal decisions, we shall never ever help in this terrible war.

Government Wants Igalo Signatories To Meet

LD2309183691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government today asked for the soonest possible calling of a meeting of the signatories of an agreement on a ceasefire in Croatia signed on September 17 in the Yugoslav summer resort of Igalo.

The agreement, brokered by British diplomat Lord Carrington, was signed by Federal Defence Secretary General Veljko Kadijevic and Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia.

The goverment information secretariat said that the purpose of this meeting would be, in the opinion of the cabinet of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic, "to specify the respective obligations in securing the established ceasefire."

The government today "applauded certain results in the ceasefire and deblockade of barracks in the Republic of Croatia," but asked that the Igalo agreement be fully implemented.

Assessing that the "current situation is suitable for the further engagement of European mediatory missions," Markovic's cabinet decided to ask the European Community Council of Ministers president, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, for their additional engagement.

The government again asked for an urgent session of the Federal Presidency, as the supreme command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, and the calling of a joint session of the Presidency and the government.

The government listed as a reason for this request the "alarming situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency asked, on September 12, for an emergency session which would adopt decisions "against the attempts to draw this republic into the current conflict" in Yugoslavia. Members of the three largest nations in Yugoslavia—Serbs, Moslems and Croats live together in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Loncar Contacts UN Security Ministers on Crisis

LD2309203691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] United Nations, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—The conviction prevails in the United Nations that Yugoslavia will after all find itself on the agenda of the Security Council on Thursday or Friday.

Circles around politicians contacted by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar yesterday and today believe that a ministerial-level meeting will be organized, something which has seldom been done in the history of the U.N. The last such meeting was held to approve the U.S.-led alliance's operation to liberate Kuwait.

Circles around Loncar's interlocutors stress, however, that there will be no similarities between the Security Council's two ministerial meetings, because the Security Council members are determined that Yugoslavia should be helped and not destroyed.

Yesterday and today, Loncar had contacts with the foreign ministers of four permanent members of the Security Council—Roland Dumas of France, Boris Pankin of the Soviet Union, Douglas Hurd of Great Britain and Qian Qichen of China. Loncar is to meet also with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

These and other Loncar's talks with politicians from other countries, notably Cuba and India, brought to light also the opposite view, namely that the conflict in Yugoslavia is that country's internal affair in which the U.N., under its Charter, has no right to interfere.

The talks brought to light also great concern for the future of the Yugoslav peoples, together with a critical attitude to those responsible for the existing situation in Yugoslavia who, it was heard, are numerous.

Loncar, who is heading the Yugoslav delegation to the session of the U.N. General Assembly, is expected to take part also in the work of the Security Council.

Austria's UN Delegation To Convey Croatian View

LD2309213491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 23 (TANJUG)—The foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Zvonimir Separovic, said today that "Croatia will certainly have the opportunity to come out with its opinion within the Austrian delegation at the U.N. Security Council session."

Prior to his departure to New York today, Separovic said that Yugoslav state President Stipe Mesic would speak at the United Nations on Thursday.

"Mesic will have the opportunity to say what is really happening in Yugoslavia," Separovic said.

Mesic is the Croatian member on the Yugoslav state Presidency.

"This is an opportunity and the right place to say the truth about Croatia, the war against it, and the Yugoslav crisis," Separovic said.

He recalled that Croatia had asked for more foreign observers and the sending of a peace-keeping force to the republic.

Secretary General of the Yugoslav state Presidency Anton Stari told TANJUG today that Mesic could appear at the United Nations "only as a private person" if his appearance as Presidency president is not previously approved by the other seven members of the Yugoslav Presidency.

France, UK, Belgium To Propose Arms Embargo

LD2309214591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] New York, September 23 (TANJUG)—France, Great Britain, and Belgium propose in a draft resolution, whose contents were confirmed by French officials to TANJUG's New York correspondent, the introduction of an embargo on shipments of weapons to Yugoslavia, the urgent establishment of a ceasefire, and that United Nations (U.N.) Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar intercede in the Yugoslav crisis.

As proposed in the draft resolution, the U.N. secretary-general should establish contacts with members of the European Community (E.C.), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the partners in Yugoslavia. and immediately inform the U.N. Security Council about this.

France, Great Britain and Belgium will propose the draft resolution to the U.N. Security Council when this body meets on Wednesday or Thursday to consider the situation in Yugoslavia.

Croatia

Minister Interviewed 19 Sep on Cease-Fire

LD2309113391 London BBC Television Network in English 2140 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Interview with Croation Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic in The Hague, by correspondent Peter Snow in London on 19 September; from the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Text] [Snow] Foreign minister, what do you think are the prospects for the cease-fire, which you have been discussing today, with the news which we have just had from Yugoslavia of this huge column of armor moving towards Croatia? [sentence as heard]

[Separovic] Unfortunately, since the cease-fire, once more, has been broken, this time Serbia has been openly preparing and actually still not declare war to run openly against Croatia. This movement of these tanks and other troops westward to Zagreb, maybe, will be, I hope, stopped. But this is another sign of who is actually aggressor in this terrible war against my country.

[Snow] Have you any hope of resisting a weight of armor like this?

[Separovic] There will be some resistance, and we shall resist until the last man is alive.

[Snow] Are you sure, foreign minister, the best way to create a new opportunity for peace might not be to call off your unilateral declaration for independence and negotiate a new relationship with Serbia?

[Separovic] Well, it has been decision by the people. It was a referendum with an absolute majority of the people deciding to have independent sovereign state. It is Serbia who started to enforce and to make it real—a dream of great Serbia. It is unbelievable that such a thing could happen in our age, at the end of our century.

[Snow] Right. But briefly before we end, I'm sorry we have to move on. What do you now want Western Europe—the countries of the EC—what do you want them to do?

[Separovic] We are asking them to come, to help, to stop aggressor, to send peacekeeping forces, and, in the future, if it would work well, we are asking for peace-making forces. The Gulf experience is something what is there to be used as an experience.

Social Benefits Offered to Army Defectors

AU2309124491 Vienna KURIER in German 23 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by Karl Wendl in Zagreb; date not given: "Invitation to Defectors: '... With Social Benefits'"]

[Text] [Wendl] The Army leadership in Belgrade claims that Croatia would be defeated within a few days if the military were to purposively strike. What do you think of such statements?

[Susak] Belgrade has asserted this nonsense for years. But what is the reality? They have achieved hardly anything. So far, not a single important town of Croatia has been taken. Even Vukovar is still under Croatian control. So far, not a single tank has passed the Vukovar town boundary, not a Serbian soldier is in the town. although for weeks Vukovar has been bombed with all that the Army can muster. For us Vukovar is a kind of Stalingrad.

[Wendl] How long will you be able to hold eastern Slavonia?

[Susak] Speculation would be pointless. It is a fact that, despite all the reports to the contrary, we have the whole of eastern Slavonia under control. In the past few days, most of the barracks in Slavonia were conquered by our guard.

[Wendl] How are defectors treated?

[Susak] We invited all Army soldiers to change over to our side. We guarantee the soldiers and their families that they will be supported by the Croatian side in every respect. They all continue to get their normal pay. Moreover, we undertake all social benefits that are due to them on account of their period of service. Apartments for their families are also available. In return, we only demand full loyalty to the Croatian nation.

[Wendl] Great promises, but can Croatia afford this?

[Susak] Croatia has to afford this, even though it is difficult. From the economic point of view, our country is experiencing a free fall.

[Wendl] How strong are the Croatian troops?

[Susak] No Army chief in the world gives figures. But our Army not only consists of the guard, but of the Croatian people. They are about 4.5 million people. No army in the world can defeat us. Not today, not tomorrow, and not in two years.

[Wendl] That is, you are convinced that you will win this war?

[Susak] Yes, I am a great optimist because I believe in Croatia's future. This is also why I returned from Canada.

[Wendl] Croats abroad are desperately trying to procure weapons for Croatia at the international level. How successful have they been so far? Do you have Stinger missiles?

[Susak] As already mentioned, I cannot given figures. However, dozens of destroyed tanks and MiG combat planes indicate that we have such weapons.

Authorities Restore Barracks' Water, Electricity

LD2309161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1400 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 23 (TANJUG)—The Croatian authorities have begun to re-establish the water and electricity supply to the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), TANJUG learned from military sources.

These sources, however, also said that very many JNA units and facilities in Croatia were still under blockade.

The connecting of the electricity and water supply to the barracks is one of the clauses in the ceasefire agreement which was announced at 15:00 hrs yesterday (13:00 GMT) simultaneously by the military and the Croatian authorities.

Kasteli Headquarters Reports Prisoner Exchange

LD2309214691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Kasteli crisis headquarters announced that Kasteli Municipal Assembly President Veselko Andromak, Assembly Vice President Jure Cego, and driver Dragan Bozilj were released from detention in exchange for three officers at 1200 today. The three officers—two Croats and one Muslim—were in the process of finalizing formalities to leave the Yugoslav Army. About one dozen soldiers fled Divulje (?barracks) soon after the exchange.

Shelling Reported Around Vinkovci

LD2309131291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] No serious fighting was reported on the battlefields around Vinkovci and Tovarnik this morning. It has been quiet since 0400 in the town of Vinkovci. Croatian forces have been complying with President Tudjman's cease-fire order; however, Serbian guerrillas and the Federal Army have not been obeying the cease-fire order given by Federal Defense Secretary Kadijevic. In the area surrounding Vinkovci, more than 2,000 shells have fallen on villages.

Situation in Vukovar Area 'Relatively Quiet'

AU2309141691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by Mirko Stankovic]

[Excerpts] The armed forces of Croatia in the Vukovar and Vinkovci region did not obey the order of General Kadijevic and President Tudjman on a cease-fire, but continued armed activities against the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in both towns after 1500 [1300 GMT].

At 1800 they carried out a strong attack on Borovo Selo. Fire was first opened by snipers from the Borovo Naselje area. This was followed by mortar fire. The target of attacks were YPA units deployed between the two warring sides.

The Army did not respond in the first 15 minutes; but as the attacks became increasingly fierce, the Army ran out of patience and decided to return strong fire from all available weapons. The Army was assisted by the ships of the river fleet. Members of the Territorial Defense of Borovo Selo also joined in. They opened fire on positions held by members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard around the Trpinja Road and the (?local) airport. Ustashas are putting up the strongest resistance in the Mitnica suburb, where the most extreme Croat forces from western Hercegovina are stationed. [passage omitted]

It is relatively quiet on the main front lines at present. Only sporadic shots or explosions can be heard. Whether all shooting will stop remains to be seen.

Cease-Fire 'Finally' Observed in Banija

AU2309205991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Dragan Bera report]

[Text] After many incidents the cease-fire today finally came into force in Banija. The members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the Croatian National Guard stopped their attack on Glina, which they began at 1530 yesterday, after the cease-fire order had been issued. Strong explosions and shooting that could be heard around Petrinja and Sisak until late last night were absent today. The conflicting sides used today's cease-fire to transport their wounded to the hospitals and to bury their dead. There were plenty of dead, especially in Petrinja, where fierce fighting took place recently. Therefore, the cease-fire in this very hot region finally came into force, although nobody can guarantee that there will not be more fighting in the future.

Boka Naval Authority Reports Cease-Fire Violation

LD2309193591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Herceg-Novi, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Boka Naval Sector Information Department today announced that at 1855 on 22 September, near Vitaljina village near the Prevlaka barracks, there was a violation of the order to implement the absolute cease-fire that was achieved on 22 September at 1500.

Units of the Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] and the National Guard Corps [ZNG] of Croatia in Vitaljina village opened fire first, with two or three bursts of gunfire at the Kupica facility, an intelligence-gathering center that is part of the Prevlaka barracks.

Units of Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] reservists responded to the provocation by returning fire, respecting the order of the naval sector—which the most responsible people in Dubrovnik municipality were also acquainted with a few days ago—namely that YPA units will return fire whenever there is a provocation.

The reservists' action was also a final warning to members of the MUP and ZNG of Croatia, who ceased any kind of provocation after this, it says in the Boka Naval Sector Information Department statement.

Banjaluka Corps Reports Five Deaths in Fighting

LD2309195991 Belgrde TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Banjaluka, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Banjaluka Corps Information Service today announced that five members of the Banjaluka Corps died in the clashes with the Croatian armed forces 21-22 September.

On 21 September, conscript Dragan T. Milovanovic, of Dublje village, near Bogatic, lost his life in an unfortunate accident at Dvor-na-Uni. On 22 September, Sead M. Nuhanovic of Banjaluka and Zarija M. Vujisic of Ralja, near Smederevo, lost their lives at Okucani.

The names of another two, killed in the same area, will be released later in the day. Their bodies were found yesterday after 1700 at Bogicevac village.

Shooting Forces Partial Vitaljina Evacuation

LD2409083991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Summary] One hundred and forty-four women, children, and elderly people have left Vitaljina, in the southern part of the municipality of Dubrovnik, following increased shooting yesterday from light weapons near the Croatian-Montenegrin border. The refugees have been housed in the Minceta Hotel in Dubrovnik.

Zagreb Reports Cease-Fire Violations

LD2409105591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0805 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The cease-fire is not being observed in most of the crisis regions in Croatia. Vukovar was attacked last night from the directions of Petrova Gora and Borovo Selo. Shooting and explosions were also reported in the Vinkovci area. The damage inflicted on Vinkovci has been great, and 29 people have been killed and 140 injured in the last eight days. A number of mortar shells fell on the town of Osijek. Tracer bullets were fired from enemy positions in Tenja, Bilje, and (Elisa). An explosion rocked Osijek just after midnight. An investigation into this incident is yet to be carried out.

Isolated incidents have been reported in the Split area. Naval patrol boats have been spotted near Split, and one Navy battleship is reported to have docked near the island of Ciovo. There have been explosions coming from [word indistinct] army barracks and sporadic sniper fire was also reported. The Croatian Defense Forces did not return fire, and no casualties have been reported. More than 40 mortars were fired on Pakrac and Lipik last night. The attack came from the villages of Donji (Cagric), Subotska, and Skenderovci. After the attack, which was one of the fiercest in the last few days, there was intermittent shooting during the night.

The night passed relatively quietly in the regions of Karlovac, Duga Resa, and Slunj. The only incident took

place in Draganicki Lug at 2200 when an explosive device was activated damaging a house.

Serbia

Kosovo Assembly Holds 'Illegal Session'

LD2409102791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0737 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Pristina, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—BUJKU, an Albanian language paper, provides the information today that two days ago there was a session of the Assembly of the so-called republic of Kosovo, at which "a resolution on the republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state with the right to become an associate within an alliance of sovereign states," was adopted.

This illegal session of the Albanian delegates of the former Kosovo Assembly, which was disbanded more that a year ago by the Serbian Assembly, also decided to hold a referendum 26-30 September at which, it is said, "citizens will vote on a republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state with the right to become an associate within an alliance of sovereign states."

Information on the illegal session of the Kosovo Assembly was made public, first of all on Albanian television last night, and only today in Pristina. The source (of the information) is said to be a statement by "the information office of the Assembly of the republic of Kosovo," but it does not state where the Assembly was held.

Independence Resolution Endorsed

LD2309194991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The Kosovo Assembly in exile has endorsed a resolution on Kosovo's independence under which Kosovo becomes a sovereign and equal republic with the right to participate in forming a union of sovereign states, the information center of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova] announced today. In line with the decision, the Kosovo Assembly has informed the legislatures of all Yugoslav republics, all legislatures in Europe, the United Nations, and the world and domestic public about the resolution. The Kosovo Assembly has also passed a decision to hold a referendum on the fate of Kosovo 26-30 September. According to the statement, at the proposal of the nomination commission, delegates unanimously elected Ilijaz Ramalji as president of the Kosovo legislature and Skender Skenderi and Ramadan Keljmendi, vice presidents of the Kosovo legislature. The Kosovo Assembly has asked the coordinating offices of Albanian political parties of Kosovo to submit as soon as possible lists of candidates for the new government of the Republic of Kosovo.

President Jovic Urges Croatia To Sit, Talk Peace

LD2309222991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Pancevo, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—"I hope the Croatian leadership realizes that, if it continues with the confrontation policy, it will experience inevitable defeat and will then have to agree on resolving all controversial issues peacefully. Although they have so far violated all agreements and treaties—therefore, we should be cautious—I still hope that Zagreb has finally realized that the best solution for all of us is to sit and talk about separation peacefully and democratically if we can no longer live together."

Borisav Jovic, president of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije (SPS)] and Yugoslav Presidency member, said this today in Pancevo when he addressed an SPS-organized speaker's platform. We told the leaders of Slovenia and Croatia a long time ago: If you insist on your independence, submit a request to the Yugoslav Assembly so that everything can be settled legally and that necessary bills can be passed to decide what belongs to whom. However, they wanted to do it unilaterally, made negotiations difficult, and systematically undermined Federal institutions, while they passed unilateral laws detrimental to other units in the federation and to other nations.

Jovic noted that the Yugoslav Presidency, as early as 15-18 March, was faced with an important task when it discussed a Supreme Command proposal to seize all illegally imported arms and disarm paramilitary formations, because it was clear even then that there would be a civil war otherwise. We kept drawing attention to it, but a section of the Yugoslav Presidency blocked our proposal, and the inevitable happened. It was clear then that the purchased arms were intended for clashes with the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and against the Serbian people, Jovic stressed.

Referring to European attempts to help resolve the Yugoslav crisis, Jovic said they were useful and positive, but he also warned that, unfortunately, some countries in Europe are reviving their old aspirations to dominate these territories, and instead of helping us, they are only hampering our efforts to resolve the problems. According to Jovic, we must find solutions on our own for if we cannot do it, no one can help us. The worst possible scenario is for the war to continue for sooner or later we will have to sit and search for a way out by negotiating.

If we consider ambitions of certain European countries, it is clear why some of them are advocating that the Serbian people in Croatia should be a national minority, while the Albanian minority in Kosovo and Metohija should get a status of a nation, Jovic noted, adding that neither of the two will ever be allowed to happen.

Asked what will be done if Croatia keeps insisting that the Army should withdraw from that republic, he replied

that the same will be done as in Slovenia; the YPA will defend only those nations which consider it their own army and which wish to defend it. That means that the Army will withdraw to the border of those areas that recognize it. Jovic said that attacks by some opposition parties on the YPA were inexplicable, because without the Army, the Serbian people would not be able to defend themselves from ten-fold more numerous Croatian attackers.

Replying to a question on why he voted for Mesic as Presidency president and why Mesic is not replaced now, Jovic said that Mesic was elected because of unheard of European pressure and because Vasil Tupurkovski said that he would withdraw his vote if Mesic does not work in the interest of Yugoslavia. However, Mesic, as we thought, continued working to break Yugoslavia, but now we cannot reach the promised agreement to relieve him of the Yugoslav Presidency president's duties.

At the end, Jovic, answering a number of questions on Army officers' attitudes in the current clashes in Croatia, said that he had full confidence in the Army leadership and that so far there have not been mass-scale acts of high-treason in Croatia.

Croat Forces Violate Cease-Fire Near Okucani, Pakrac

AU2309143891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Kosta Krajincanic report]

[Excerpt] Despite the agreement on a truce and cease-fire, Ustasha units on the front near Okucani and Bosanska Gradiska are continuously opening fire on the units of the Yugoslav People's Army. Last night, two members of the Army were killed and two were more seriously wounded. This latest treacherous act by members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard has caused anger among both members of the Army and the citizens. This truce obviously [words indistinct] to temporarily consolidate its forces. It is during a cease-fire like this one that the Army is losing men.

Ustasha formations are also continuously shelling the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army near Pakrac. A similar thing is happening in the area where the units of the Banja Luka Corps are deployed. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister on Problems With Mobilization

AU2309195791 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Interview with Lieutenant-General Tomislav Simovic, Serbian Defense Minister, by Milos Markovic in Belgrade studio; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Markovic] To your knowledge, what are the most common basic reasons people give to avoid mobilization?

[Simovic] Perhaps not to avoid the mobilization as such but everything that relates to it. The people I spoke with and the families of the draftees and soldiers wonder whether everybody was called up. Because mobilization is partial, it is impossible that everyone would be called up. Are the children of prominent or leading politicians also called up? In this matter, although I do not have permission, I would nevertheless ask everybody to bear in mind that it can be checked where the sons of Vice President Kosutic and Belgrade Assembly President Unkovic are, and, speaking of the Macva region, it can also be checked where my son-in-law Maksimovic, a professor from Sabac, is. This is not important, this is minor, with regard to what interests individual people. Questions often arise from personal circumstances. There are the only sons, breadwinners, students, persons particularly engaged in the ongoing affairs. However, the legislator has made us equal in terms of our rights and obligations in case of an armed struggle—that is to say, in war, in peace, and for national defense. Therefore, speaking literally and not only figuratively, as (?Brane) Crncevic said, did we come so far that Croatian fascist politics can be supported by Germany, but our Serbian people and members of the Yugoslav People's Army do not deserve the help of our members? It is good that the affirmative answer in this matter prevails over the negative.

Serbian Vice President Comments on Military Goals

AU2309174591 Novi Sad TVNS Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Interview with Budimir Kosutic, vice president of the Serbian Government, by news announcer Jovan Nikolic of the Novi Sad Television in the Novi Sad Belgrade studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Nikolic] Good evening.

[Kosutic] Good evening.

[Nikolic] Dr. Kosutic, while you were waiting for our program to begin, you probably saw some of the reports we broadcast. I cannot begin this interview without asking for your personal opinion about what we have just seen from Croatia.

[Kosutic] I think that most of the Serbian people, including those not properly acquainted with the state of affairs because of disinformation, will, after seeing those and other reports, fully realize that this is not only an attack upon the entire Serbian nation. This is also an attack on everything that represents human dignity, basic human rights, the liberties of a citizen, orthodox religion—in short, an attack upon everything that forms a contemporary civilized world. For this reason, I am deeply convinced that the majority of the Serbian people

will understand this and give their full support to the struggle against the greatest evil that has emerged in Europe since World War II. This is the evil of the resurrected fascism on the territory of one of Yugoslavia's federal units, in the center of what one could say Croatia used to be—because, as you know, historically, Croatia did not include Dalmatia or Slavonia or Northern Dalmatia, but the territory that is at present the center of the Ustasha movement and of the vampire-like fascism.

[Nikolic] Dr. Kosutic, I will return to yesterday's government session. The government discussed economic matters, but the conclusion of the statement published in today's POLITIKA, for instance, reads something like this: The government considers significant the agreement on the future political organization of the country, achieved in a peaceful and democratic manner over a short period of time. Can this be implemented in the present situation, and how?

[Kosutic] Obviously, this could be achieved if such a horrible Ustasha regime did not exist within the administrative borders of Croatia, or in the heart of what used to be Croatia. This regime absolutely cannot accept any form of peaceful solution because it knows very well that it is fighting against everything that is considered civilized, democratic, and human. It would be possible to achieve this, therefore, at any time with one part of the Croatian nation—this goes without saying—but it is not possible with this part of the Croatian nation that is currently in power—that is, the Ustasha mob of soldiers that reigns at present. I believe, however, that the other half of the Croatian nation—and we have seen the cases of Croats fighting together with Serbs—will assist in seeing that this truly barbaric authority is, in a certain way and with certain means, removed from the scene, and that something one simply cannot imagine is resolved. Words fail me when I am describing this regime. [passage omitted]

[Nikolic] Dr. Kosutic, in conclusion, I would like to ask another question. I am asking you as a professor and not as deputy president of the Serbian Government. In the press, on radio, and on television, there is a lot of talk—we will also talk about this in our newscast—about the issue I would call Serbia's military objectives. I am interested in your personal opinion. [passage omitted]

[Kosutic] You see, numerous conservative forces in the European countries that are the least sympathetic to the Serbian nation constantly bring forward a theory that this is a war between Serbia and Croatia, that Serbia is carrying out an aggression and so forth. This is nonsense. There are no Serbian military objectives. Serbia is not at war with the Croatian federal unit because the federal units within one state cannot be at war, and neither, I must stress this particularly, is the Serbian nation a national minority in any part of Yugoslavia. That is were all these ideas come from that Yugoslavia does not exist, that one federal unit of Serbia has military objectives, that it is trying to achieve those objectives by carrying out an aggression on some other country, and numerous other fabricated stands and ideas. I must repeat: We are not talking about the existence of military objectives. We are talking about a situation in which one nation has been attacked, where aggression has been carried out upon Yugoslavia by the unilateral action of the Croatian authorities and its illegal armed formations. Things must be made clear in a situation in which a Ustasha regime is violating all international agreements, including the Yugoslav Constitution, the basic regulations that are in force, federal and republican alike, even their own regulations. In their Constitution, there is no mention of one being allowed to enter people's houses and apartments just because they are Serbs, of being allowed to kill them, to torture them. You have seen what Father (?Filaret) has shown us [Kosutic refers to a report of an Orthodox priest displaying a skull of an alleged two-year-old Serbian child tortured and killed by Croats]. I cannot find the words to describe all this. In this situation, Yugoslavia, the entire Serbian nation, and each person who cares about human dignity are fighting the Ustasha regime. In regard to objectives, therefore, they are very clear. We are talking about protection, not only for one nation and its right to exist and develop, but also for freedom, democracy, and human rights. Every person who cares about his own dignity must support the struggle against the evil that has emerged in Croatia.

[Nikolic] Prof. Kosutic, thank you for the time you have spent answering our questions. Thank you and good night.

[Kosutic] Thank you.

BUJKU: Militia Tortures Kosovar Detainee

AU2409073591 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 13 Sep 91 p 3

[A.M. report: "Mistreated for 15 Hours"]

[Text] On 8 September, after the peaceful protest in the streets of Kacanik, the Serbian militia seized the young Kacanik sociologist Ferid Kemajl Shehu, took him to the militia station in the evening and detained him until the next day, for a total of 15 hours.

They tortured Ferid in the worst possible way. This young man reported this chauvinist orgy to us yesterday, and said that the militia first tied him to a radiator and then struck different parts of his body with their truncheons, fists, and boots.

This young man, blackened with bruises on his arms and legs, added that about 15 militiamen assaulted him, competing to be the first to punch him. Certain "civilians" who also interrogated him also insulted his nationality and threatened to kill him and throw him out of the militia station window. The Kosovo Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms has been informed of these acts of madness.

Red Cross Registers 104,806 Refugees in Republic

LD2309212691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—According to data of the Serbian Red Cross, a total of 104,806 refugees have been registerd in the area of the Republic of Serbia to date.

From this total refugee figure, 45,309 persons are in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, 59,313 in Serbia proper, and 684 in its southern province of Kosovo and Metohija.

Compared to yesterday's figure, the number of registered refugees has gone up by 44.

It was reported today that the first delivery of 20,000 "family packages", sent by the International Red Cross Committee in Geneva, will arrive in the course of the week for 45,000 refugees who are in the territory of Vojvodina.

The Red Cross of Vojvodina was informed about this, as journalists were told, by representatives of the international humanitarian organization during their stay in the province this past weekend.

Another two deliveries of the "family packages", containing food, school supplies and articles for personal hygiene, will arrive from abroad in the latter half of October and end of November.

The Red Cross of Vojvodina was also visited by representatives of the international organization "Medicines Sans Frontieres" who promised to assist in terms of medicine, medical supplies and if needed teams of surgeons.

Socialist Party Condemns Destructive Activity

LD2309184691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The public has been confronted over the past few days with the destructive activity of some opposition parties vis-a-vis the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. Many citizens are getting in touch with the leaderships of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in the municipalities and with the main committee. They are drawing attention to the unacceptable attempts to shake the morale of YPA units and to citizens who are doing their military service by distributing leaflets, holding protest meetings, making open threats, and spreading lies and misinformation at this crucial moment. The citizens are demanding that this activity be revealed and publicly condemned as treacherous, while judicial organs are being asked to take appropriate legal measures, today's SPS executive committee statement stressed.

SDS Denounces 'Forgery' in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD2309004491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina today announced that a flagrant piece of forgery has been circulating in the republic in the form of "an order to the secretariats for national defense" in some municipalities.

The document, the SDS states, was not produced by the party. The signature and the seal on the document have been forged. The party has warned its branches to check the origin of all future instructions.

The controversial "order" instructed relevant officials to help "our liberators—the units from Montenegro and Serbia—by recruiting our own volunteers and giving both material and moral support to their mission to create an alliance of Serbian states." The second "order" in the document allegedly instructed "the national defense secretariats of the Serbian Autonomous Regions of Krajina, Romanija, and Northeast Bosnia to eliminate from their ranks Ustasha-supporting and other Muslim elements who are trying to prevent the setting up of just Serbian authorities in all-Serbian countries."

This "order" has been described by the SDS as the most flagrant forgery produced in order to conduct a special war.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnian Minister Accused of Working With Croats

LD2309164391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 23 (TANJUG)—National Defence Minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina Jerko Doko was today accused by his closest collaborators of having jeopardized the security of this Yugoslav republic by working under orders from Croatia.

Deputy Bosnia-Hercegovina Defence Minister Hazim Begovic, Undersecretary Ljubisav Terzic, and head republican inspector Dragan Kapetina today issued a statement in which they accused Doko of maintaining secret consultations with the national defence minister of the Republic of Croatia through special telephone and other channels.

Doko's collaborators said that Doko was interested in the preparations for the defence of Bosnia-Hercegovina "only if they fit into the orders and policy of the Republic of Croatia and if they can result in effects which are aimed against Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Army and create anti-Yugoslav and anti-Army sentiments among the public."

In multi-ethnic Bosnia-Hercegovina power is shared by the Moslem Party of Democratic Action, the Croatian Democratic Union, and the Serbian Democratic Party. Moslems make up about 44 percent of the republic's population, Serbs 32 percent, and Croats 17 percent.

Doko was appointed to his office as representative of the Croatian Democratic Union, his Deputy Begovic is from the Moslem Party, and Terzic and Kapetina are from the Serbian one.

Doko was also accused by his collaborators of having on Saturday issued yet another arbitrary statement in which he accused the Yugoslav Army of using its troop movements "to provoke civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Army formations of reservists were transferred to Bosnia- Hercegovina territory three days ago from the neighbouring republics of Serbia and Montenegro. Simultaneously, columns of Army reservists were sent also from Serbia to Croatia with the task of deblocking Yugoslav Army barracks and units which had been surrounded by members of the Croatian Armed Forces.

Members of the eight-member Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency from the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Party today voiced their support to the Yugoslav Army troop movements through this republic.

Bosnian Council Feels Republic Tension 'Diminished'

LD2309184791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—The Council for Protecting Constitutional Order of Bosnia-Hercegovina today met with Biljana Plavsic in the chair and concluded that over the last 24 hours tension in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been defused and that the possibility for a conflict between citizens in crisis areas and members of units from Serbia and Montenegro has diminished.

The council pays tribute and extends its full support to the Internal Affairs Ministry and the security forces for their activities in safeguarding public peace and order in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It was agreed that the existing contingent of active and reserve militia was adequate to guarantee safety for all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina and to ensure public peace and order in the republic.

Western Hercegovina Leaders Seek Special Measures

LD2309200391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Mostar, Sept 23 [TANJUG]—The civilian authorities in Mostar, Capljina and Stoca have sought approval from the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina to introduce special measures and to moblize territorial defence units after the arrival of several thousand reservists of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) from Montenegro in these towns in eastern Hercegovina.

The Capljina and Stoca authorities, populated predominantly by Croats and Moslems and the nationally mixed population of Mostar three days ago demanded that the army reservists go back to where they came from.

The Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order of Bosnia-Hercegovina today assessed that the tension over the past 24 hours in this republic has eased and that possibilities of the outbreak of clashes between citizens in the crisis regions and members of the units which came from Serbia and Montenegro have been reduced.

The Council assessed that the existing contingent of the active and reserve police units is sufficient to guarantee security to all citizens in Bosnia-Hercegovina and ensure public law and order in the republic.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership is not united in its assessment of the arrival of the Army reservists. President of the eight-member republican presidency and leader of the Moslem Party of Democratic Action (SDA) Alia Izetbegovic is asking that the Army return. Members of the republican presidency from the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) today sent a letter of support to Federal Defence Minister Army General Veljko Kadijevic.

Republican Defence Minister Jerko Doko, member of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), accused the Army of trying to provoke a civil war in the Republic by the Army movements. Doko's deputies from the ranks of the Moslem SDA and the closest associates from the ranks of the SDS accused him of acting under Croatian orders.

Reacting to these events in the republic the information office of the JNA Titograd Corps today dismissed the accusations made at the expense of the Montenegrin units, indicating provocations by a part of the population and the news media.

An unidentified person today fired three explosive shells at a cafe-bar, owned by Serbs, in Banjaluka, the center of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Bosnian Krajina. No one was killed but great material damage was caused.

State of Emergency Declared for Serbs in Visegrad

LD2409111791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0650 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Visegrad, 24 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] crisis headquarters in Visegrad today declared a state of emergency for Serbian people in the area of this municipality. This is stressed in today's statement issued by the headquarters, which was formed last night because of, it is alleged, "the escalation of open

and brutal intranational conflicts in the area of Visegrad municipality, caused by the attacks of Muslims extremists on the personal safety and the security of the property of citizens of Serbian nationality and the attacks on social property."

The SDS crisis headquarters in Visegrad specifies that while the state of emergency is in force, schoolchildren of Serbian nationality will not go to school, and workers will remain at home instead of going to work, it is said, in order to guard their homes. All officials from the ranks of the Serbian nation at any level will withdraw from their posts. During all of this time, civil disobedience has been declared against, it is said, what the Serbian people regard as "the illegal bodies and their decisions."

The crisis headquarters has called on all Serbs capable of serving in a defense force to make themselves available "in defense of the Serbian nation." Republican state bodies and the editorial board of TANJUG in Sarajevo, the statement says in conclusion, have been acquainted with this decision of the crisis headquarters.

Macedonia

Assembly Session Adjourns After Stormy Session

AU2309195191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Branka Nanevska report from Skopje]

[Text] A few minutes ago the Macedonian Assembly adjourned its session in Skopje. It is completely uncertain whether the session will resume, tonight or tomorrow. Stojan Andov, president of the Assembly, decided to stop the session because he was infuriated by Deputy Stole Stojkov from the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]. He accused Andov publicly and in an insolent manner of manipulating the parliament. Andov, who chaired the session in accordance with the rules of procedure, was literally exposed to a barrage of retorts, retorts to retorts, insults, and members of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonian, who raised the issue of the responsibility of Jordan Mijalkov, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, trying to outwit members of the VMRO, who strongly defended the minister.

What has been heard from behind the rostrum in the assembly so far can in no way serve the honor of the people's deputies, nor can it be in the interests of the Macedonian state at this very complicated time in the country. Democracy is obviously a difficult lesson.

Otherwise, after a full day of work, the Macedonian assembly has not even adopted the agenda for today's session. The only thing that was agreed upon is that the telegraphic agency of Macedonia be set up through a regular rather than a speeded up assembly procedure, as demanded by the government, and that the suspension of the federal law on military service be discussed when the republican minister for national defense returns from his business trip. The assembly also rejected the proposal of an independent candidate that the financing of political parties in the republic be abolished.

Session To Resume 27 Sep

AU2309205491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The 24th session of the Macedonian Assembly session will be resumed on 27 September at 1000. This was stated tonight after the Assembly session was adjourned following the intolerant behavior by a deputy of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], Stoile Stoikov. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Bulatovic 'Astonished' Over Izetbegovic Letter

LD2309201391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1104 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Montenegro Presidency President Momir Bulatovic today sent a letter to Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, answering yesterday's appeal by Izetbegovic to withdraw Montenegro conscripts from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In his reply, Bulatovic says:

You are certainly aware that the Montenegro Presidency did not order the conscripts from this republic to be deployed in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, I am astonished that you should ask me to do something that is beyond the constitutional and legal powers of the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro.

The conscripts from Montenegro are members of the united Armed Forces of Yugoslavia, which operate in accordance with the Federal Constitution, the law, and the decisions of the SFRY Presidency. I have a strong impression that the political logic suggested by your letter ignores the fact that Yugoslavia and its armed forces s ill exist and that they must carry out their role and prevent intranational conflicts and the break-up of the country in a violent way.

However, it is our duty, as Yugoslav statesmen and politicians, to find as soon as possible a generally acceptable political solution of the Yugoslav crisis, which is the only way to stop the civil war now under way. I would like to remind you that Montenegro is determined to contribute to the interests of peace, of friendship between the nations, and of equality of all citizens of Yugoslavia.

I am certain that no nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is threatened by the Yugoslav People's Army, and especially not by the conscripts from Montenegro. Regarding

individual incidents and unbecoming behavior, which we ourselves strongly condemn, it is the duty of the military bodies to prevent this. Therefore, I ask you, as a sober statesman, not to reach hasty conclusions about the reputation of the Montenegrin people because of this. After all, you have done the same in respect to the Croatian and Muslim peoples whose individual members, unfortunately, are demonstrating a much more radical extremism from the one referred to in your letter, Bulatovic states in his reply.